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INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: A COMPENDIUM

VOLUME III - LATIN AMERICA (U)

DJS-2630-9A-80

Information Cutoff Date: 30 March 1980

This publication supersedes International Terrorism: A Compendium, Volume III - Latin America (U) (DJS-2630-9-80) March 1980 which should be destroyed

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PREFACE

~~(C)~~ Despite various and increasing governmental attempts to counter terrorism, it has become a constant on the international scene. Of special interest to the Defense Intelligence Agency are certain groups which act transnationally, cultivate ties with counterparts in other countries, and pose an actual or potential threat to US or allied interests and personnel.

~~(C)~~ Intended to serve as a ready reference, this report is part of a continuing effort to comprehend international terrorism as it exists today in Western Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. The report consists of four regional volumes, published in a 6-month cycle. Each volume contains an index of all groups discussed in the Compendium.

~~(C)~~ Following the section on the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR), the volume is organized alphabetically by country. Within each country the relevant groups are listed and described. Information is provided under the outline headings: estimated strength; orientation/goals; organization; key personalities, with biographic data when available; headquarters/bases; tactics/methods of operation; weapons; training; finances; international connections; background (including contemporary history, splinters, front groups, and domestic ties); significant activities--significant in terms of a group's development or its impact on international perceptions--with specifics provided for more complex operations; and event analysis.

~~(C)~~ The limitations of a task of this kind are self-evident. Since groups are almost always clandestine, information gaps exist and some details of internal operations and external ties remain unknown. A few portraits are perforce incomplete.

(U) Questions and comments concerning this publication should be referred in writing to the Defense Intelligence Agency (ATTN: [redacted], Washington, D.C. 20301. Requests for additional copies should be forwarded through command approval channels, as appropriate, to DIA (ATTN: [redacted], using DD Form 1142, Interagency Document Request, in accordance with DIA Manual 59-3, DIA Reference Library.

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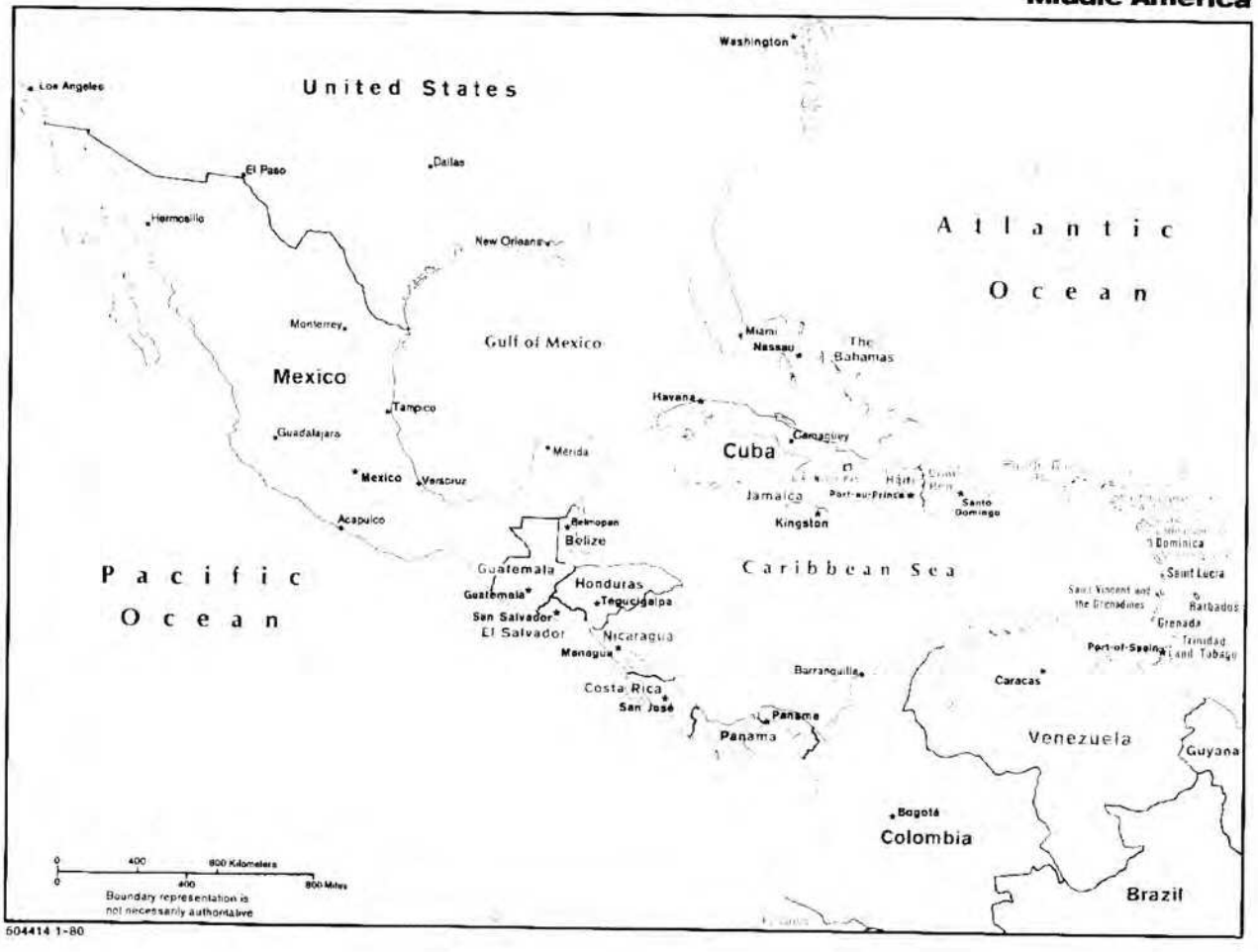
Middle America



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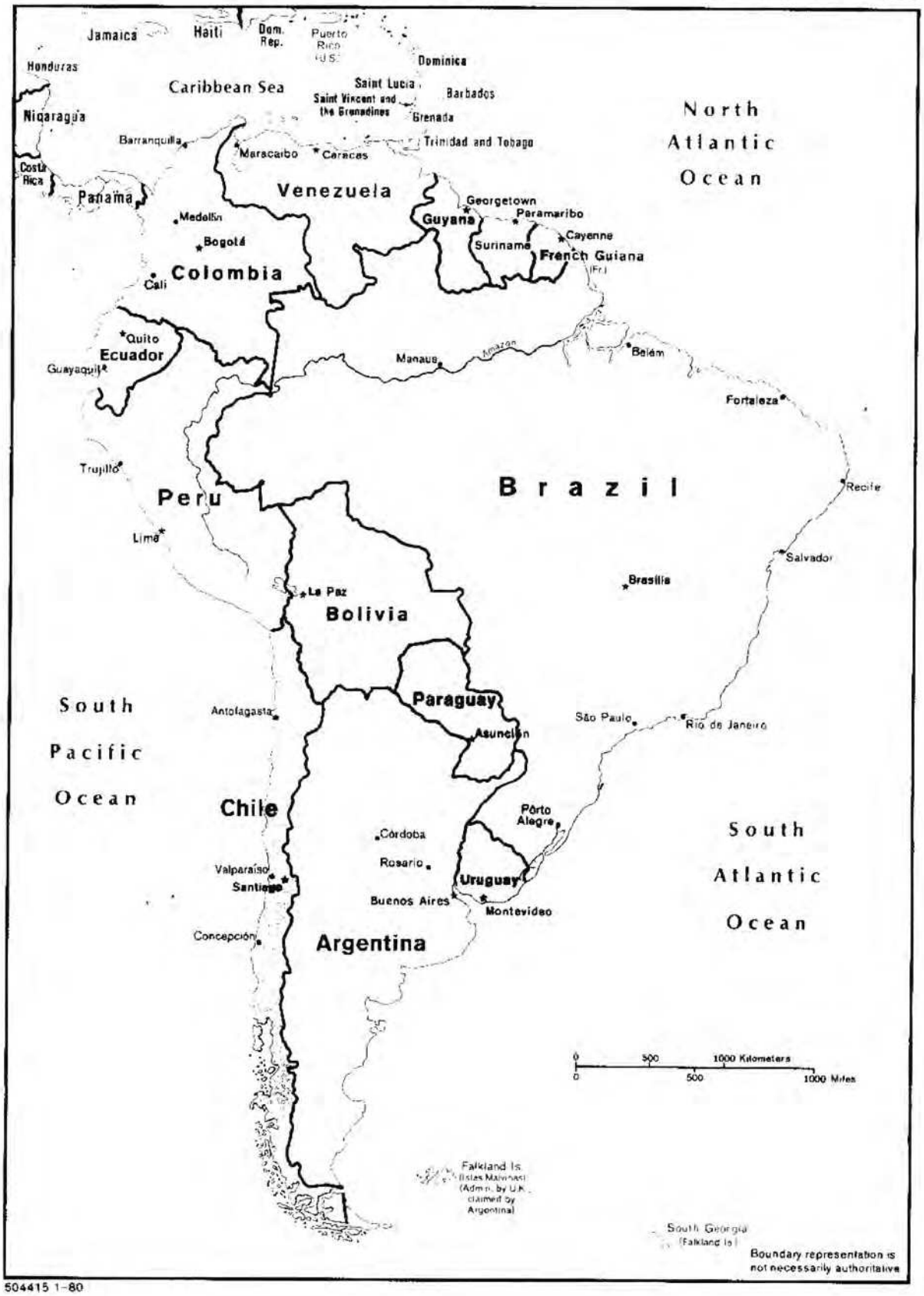
South America



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Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR - Junta de Coordinacion Revolucionaria)

Analyst's Comment

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Little has been heard from the JCR since its first 3 years of activity, 1974-77. Consequently, there has been speculation that it is moribund. However, there is no conclusive evidence that it was ever dissolved or that it simply withered away after its failure to launch the "continental war" in the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay) of South America in the 1974-77 period.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The substantial increase in active transnational cooperation and support among the Central American "liberation movements" since 1977, which was engendered with the assistance of Cuba and exiled members of at least one charter JCR organization, strongly suggests that coordination among Latin American "liberation movements" continues. The dramatic victory of the Nicaraguan guerrilla movement in July 1979 greatly encouraged this trend as well as vindicated the strategy of "armed struggle." Whether these coordinating efforts since 1977 have been facilitated by a supranational network called the JCR, the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC), or another name, or have been assumed in part by the Argentine Montoneros, is not clear.

Estimated Strength:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Intelligence reporting on the JCR has been too fragmentary to estimate accurately the JCR's past or present strength. The 'strength' of the JCR is not strictly applicable because of its function as a planning/coordinating body, but at least two criteria are relevant: the number of (1) JCR coordinators and representatives, and (2) the groups which have contacts or ties with the JCR.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In 1977, the number of JCR representatives at JCR conferences may have totaled as many as 100 individuals. Many of these individuals, including the principal JCR coordinators who were also the leaders in their respective "liberation movements," have been tentatively identified.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In late 1976, only the four charter JCR groups appeared to have full membership status with voting rights in the JCR. An unknown number of other groups held the status of membership without voting rights, while others had either "observer" or "observer/adviser" status. In 1977, over 20 guerrilla/terrorist organizations in Latin America had contacts with the four charter JCR member organizations. Since then, no further information has been received on JCR's membership.

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Orientation/Goals:

(U) The JCR was founded on 13 February 1974 by four South American "liberation movements"--the Argentine People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Uruguayan Movement of National Liberation (MLN/Tupamaros), and the Bolivian National Liberation Army (ELN). At that time, they released a "joint declaration" which announced that the JCR was founded to "unite the revolutionary forces against the imperialist (US) enemy" in accordance with "one of the principal strategic ideas" of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. That idea was "the development of a bloody and prolonged revolutionary war that will make the Latin American continent the second or third Vietnam of the world."

(U) The "joint declaration" stated that "there is no other viable strategy in Latin America than the strategy of revolutionary war." It defined the revolutionary war as "a complex process of mass struggle--armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent--in which all forms of struggle develop harmoniously, converging around the axis of armed struggle." To achieve this process of revolutionary war, the JCR statement continued, "the proletarian leadership of the war must be exercised by a Marxist-Leninist combat party . . . ." The JCR document also stated that both a people's army and a broad popular front must be built under the leadership of the party. The combined efforts of the people's army, the proletarian party, and the broad popular front would all converge "with the greatest effectiveness in the armed struggle according to the peculiarities of each region and country."

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ During the 1974-76 period, the criteria for JCR membership were: that the group be Marxist-Leninist; that it agree to the formation of a revolutionary army; that it consider the fight against the United States as continental rather than national; and that it accept the "socialist" nature of the revolution.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The JCR, a strongly pro-Cuban organization, has maintained close ties with the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee (PCC/CC) America Department (DA), formerly the Liberation Directorate until its reorganization in 1974. In view of its close operational and ideological ties with Cuba, the JCR may have been established as a front for implementing the Soviet-sanctioned Cuban "Broad Front" revolutionary strategy. This strategy is based on the theory that "rightist dictatorships and democratic governments" can be overthrown through a closely coordinated combination of armed guerrilla struggle, national insurrection, supported by popular militias, and political activism.

Organization:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In 1977, the JCR governing body was the Permanent Executive Secretariat, headed by representatives of the four founding JCR organizations--the ERP, MIR, MLN-Tupamaros, and ELN. It was charged with preparing JCR statutes, determining JCR strategy and plans, and publishing Che Guevara, the JCR magazine.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ It is not known which group(s) or countries have controlled the JCR since 1977. It seems unlikely, though, that the four charter JCR organizations have continued to exercise the same control over the JCR since 1977 that they had in the 1974-76 period. Both Cuba and the Montoneros have been active since 1977 in coordinating and supporting Latin American "liberation movements" with past JCR contacts or ties, and appear to have assumed some of the JCR's former functions.

(U) In 1977, the JCR organization had two "wings": Internal Operational Wing and Exterior Pressure Wing. The Internal Operational Wing was devoted to planning, policy, and strategy. It had sections dealing with the promotion of the JCR itself--propaganda, filmmaking, tape recording, documentation, communications, technical advice, arms manufacture, and terrorist tactics. The main roles of the Exterior Pressure Wing were to establish terrorist cells in various countries, maintain relations with solidarity organizations and raise funds.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The Exterior Pressure Wing was divided into secretariats for Latin America, West Europe (and Iberia), Africa, North America (United States and Mexico), and Asia. The West European Secretariat exercised general supervision of JCR activities in Europe, including "relations" in France. It had a two-man Organization Secretariat, based in Geneva, which was charged with liaison with international organizations. In addition, a JCR Central Group in each country was responsible for JCR activity in that country.

(U) In 1977, the Paris-based Argentine Solidarity and Information Center (CAIS) was the JCR's most important European front organization. The CAIS, which was part of the Exterior Pressure Wing, was reportedly established with Cuban assistance. The CAIS had a General Secretariat and six separate committees, which had responsibilities for matters such as finance, propaganda, foreign relations, sympathizers, solidarity (assisting exiles), and fundraising activities such as cultural events.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In 1977, the JCR's network of front organizations in Europe also included the Association of Latin American Students (AELAF), the Latin American Press Agency (APAL), and the Rome-based Anti-Fascist Committee Against Repression in Argentina (CAFRA). The CAIS and APAL were being used to discredit Latin American rightist governments on the human rights issue. In 1978, the APAL's office in Venezuela was publishing a magazine called Noticias Tres (News-3) and distributing propaganda in Venezuela.

Key Personalities:

(U) Fernando Luis Alvarez ("Pelado" - "Baldy").

(U) A Times (London) article of October 1977 identified Alvarez as the JCR's chief commanding officer in Europe. It also stated that he is married to Ana Maria Guevara, sister of the late Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and was last living at Pantin Principal, Pantin, near Paris. An earlier newspaper report had reported that as of May 1977 he was in jail.

Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ In mid-1977, Alvarez was identified as the Paris-based chief of the JCR in France. He has been confused [redacted] with "Federico Chavez," also identified in mid-1977 as the Paris-based JCR European chief and the husband of Ana Maria Guevara. The individual(s) identified as Alvarez and/or Chavez has/have maintained close contact with the Cubans.

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ "Arnaldo Kremer II."

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ In early 1978, an Argentine ERP leader identified only by the pseudonym "Arnaldo Kremer II" reportedly had assumed the JCR leadership position formerly held by Arnaldo Kremer ("Luis Matini"), the chief of the ERP who was killed in late 1977 or early 1978. Until his death, Kremer had served as the chief ERP coordinator within the JCR and reportedly as the JCR commander in chief.

(U) Rodolfo Mattarolo. (See photo.)

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ Mattarolo, aka "Raoul Navas," was one of the principal representatives of the Argentine ERP within the JCR in Paris. Although his current position within the JCR is not known, he was one of the most likely candidates to succeed Arnaldo Kremer.

(U) Mattarolo, 1979.

Headquarters/Bases:

(U) In 1977, JCR general headquarters was located in Havana. At that time, Paris was the West European capital of the JCR network because of the many Third World revolutionary leftists and the 25,000 Latin American expatriates residing there.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In 1977, CAIS was located at 27 Avenue de Choisy, Paris 13e. The Association of Latin American Students (AELAF) was located at 67 rue de Theatre, 15 EME, Paris. In February 1976, the JCR Lisbon office, an important JCR operational center, was located at Avenida Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro No. 5, third floor. Other JCR centers were located in Amsterdam, Brussels, London, Rome, Stockholm, Berlin, and Frankfurt.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In 1977, the principal JCR logistical base in Latin America was in Havana. Other important JCR centers were in Mexico City (where it has worked through the Argentine House, an organization composed of Argentine terrorist exiles), Caracas, and reportedly in Bogota. In Buenos Aires, the JCR worked until 1976 through the Anti-Imperialist Movement for Socialism (MASA), an organization composed of Argentine Marxist-Leninists who maintained offices in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, and New York.

Tactics/Methods of Operation:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The JCR was created to serve only as a planning element for coordinating revolutionary war on the supranational level rather than as a terrorist organization per se. The JCR network has been used to coordinate transnational tactical and logistical support, including provision of false documentation, safehouses, and funds for major subversive and/or terrorist operations. JCR activists in Europe may have engaged in an occasional fundraising kidnaping or armed robbery, or even an assassination. However, they have used Europe mainly as a safehaven and staging area for conducting transnational activities.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In addition to their guerrilla support activities, JCR activists have proselytized among students, worked in solidarity organizations, and propagandized against rightist military governments in Latin America. In 1976 and 1977, JCR European-based representatives developed contacts with human rights organizations in an attempt to gain their cooperation in exerting international pressure against "repressive" Latin American governments. Human rights organizations that have actively cooperated with the JCR campaign to free imprisoned comrades include Amnesty International (London), the International Commission of Jurists, the Bertrand Russell Tribunal II (Rome), and the World Council of Churches.

Weapons:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ No information is available on present JCR weapon supplies, if any. Affiliated JCR organizations probably contributed weapons for JCR-coordinated operations in the past. The JCR training school in Cuba probably has had access to Cuban-supplied weapons. There is no known weapons manufacturing program currently being conducted under JCR auspices.

(U) In the 1974-76 period, weapons were manufactured under JCR auspices in Argentina. These included the "JCR Model I" 9-mm submachinegun, which weighed 6.6 pounds and fired 500 rounds per clip. It was developed and used by the ERP.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Prior to the March 1976 military coup and subsequent counterterrorist campaign in Argentina, the JCR had a significant weapons manufacturing capability in that country. Its remote-controlled rocket, the "CJCR-II," was in the testing stage in late 1975. Other JCR-manufactured weapons included submachinegun models JCR I and II, JCR-I grenades, and rocket launchers similar to those used by the ERP.

Training:

(b)(1);Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ By 1977, JCR training had been given at political/military cadre schools in Cuba, including one in Pinar del Rio Province. [redacted] in about 1974, the Cubans, under Soviet supervision, began guerrilla training programs in Cuba for militants from many Latin American countries. During the 1974-79 period, this training was conducted at guerrilla training schools located in the Isle of Youth (formerly the Isle of Pines) and in the Provinces of Havana and Pinar del Rio. As of October 1979, the Pinar del Rio guerrilla training center had a capacity for training 300 students at one time, and students from all Latin American countries were enrolled, [redacted] It was not known if this Pinar del Rio training center was the same one used by the JCR, or if any of the Cuban training given during 1978 and 1979 was coordinated with the JCR.

(b)(1);Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ During 1976-78, the JCR reportedly coordinated training for its members at Palestinian training bases in the Middle East, in Angola with Cuban soldiers, and in unidentified specialized schools in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). This training may have been on a one-time basis rather than part of an ongoing training program since no further information on JCR training in these three areas has been received. However, numerous members of the Argentine Montoneros have received guerrilla training at Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in Lebanon since at least early 1979. It is not known if this training resulted from JCR contacts or if it was in any way connected to the JCR.

Finances:

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ The JCR's present financial status is unknown. There have been reports of financial support from foreign governments, including Cuba, the Soviet Union, Romania, and Libya. Substantial financial contributions have been made by the wealthier Latin American "liberation movements," previously the ERP and then the Montoneros. The JCR has sponsored fundraising cultural activities, and possibly planned fundraising kidnapings. In June 1976, the Montoneros agreed to provide monthly financial assistance to the JCR; it is not known for how long this assistance was provided, but it was probably curtailed by mid-1977 at the latest due to the Montoneros' own financial problems.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Cuba: The America Department of the Cuban PCC/CC has maintained close liaison with the JCR since the JCR's establishment in February 1974. PCC/CC DA Chief Manuel Pineiro Losada reportedly has served as the JCR's logistical and ideological brain. Cuban involvement in the JCR appeared to be low-key during the 1974-76 period when most Cuban delegations attended JCR meetings only as "observers." However, at the 27-29 March 1976 JCR conference held in Buenos Aires, an unidentified Cuban was introduced as the new JCR logistics chief. During 1974-76, ERP funding of the JCR was supplemented with funds received directly from the Cuban Embassy in Buenos Aires, according to Patricio Biedman, a captured MIR/JCR activist. Cuba's diplomatic pouch in Argentina was also used for JCR logistical purposes. The JCR also maintained close contact with other Cuban Embassies in Latin America and Europe. The Cuban-based general headquarters and cadre school have already been mentioned. In 1977, a JCR motion-picture group was supported by Cuba in accordance with an agreement made with the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry.

Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Since 1977, [redacted] Cuban relations with the JCR has been fragmentary. Two JCR conferences reportedly were scheduled to be held in Havana in 1977. The purpose of one of them was to develop a new JCR policy for Latin America. At that time, Cuba had become more active in coordinating support for the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In early 1978, representatives of the JCR's founding organizations attended the Third International (Socialist) meeting in Algeria. There they reportedly met with General Raul Castro, Chief of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) and First Vice President of the Councils of State and Ministers. Castro reportedly promised them Cuban support if JCR member organizations, with the exception of those in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, could demonstrate some mass support and could establish "liberated areas" within their respective countries.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ USSR: There has been little evidence to substantiate alleged Soviet ties with the JCR. However, the Soviets reportedly have used JCR representatives in Moscow such as Rodney Arismendi, Secretary General of the Uruguayan Communist Party (PCU), and Volodia Teitelboim, a Chilean Communist Party leader, to convey "suggestions" on political tactics and strategy.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Latin America: In addition to its four charter members--the ERP, MIR, MLN, and ELN--the following Latin American "liberation movements" are suspected of having had some JCR affiliation or contact: (1) Argentina: Montoneros; (2) Paraguay: Paraguayan National Liberation Front (FREPALIMA); (3) Brazil: Socialist Action Movement (MAS -composed

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of elements of the National Liberating Alliance - ALN, the Revolutionary Brazilian Communist Party - PCBR, and the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard - VPR; (4) Peru: Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); (5) Colombia: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN), 19th of April Movement (M-19); (6) Venezuela: Red Flag (BR) (aka the Americo Silva Front (FAS)), Red Flag/Marxist-Leninist (BR/ML), Organization of Revolutionaries (OR), Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), and the Argimiro Gabaldon Revolutionary Command (CRAG) (aka the Revolutionary Commando Group (GCR)); (7) Panama: Revolutionary Student Front (FER); (8) Costa Rica: People's Revolutionary Movement (MPR); (9) Nicaragua: FSLN; (10) El Salvador: Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), People's Revolutionary Army (ERP); (11) Guatemala: Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), Provisional (Dissident) Directorate of the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (PGT) - formerly the Revolutionary Armed Forces (PGT/FAR), and Rebel Armed Forces (FAR); (12) Dominican Republic: Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), and Dominican Commandos of Resistance (CR), (aka People's Revolutionary Army (ERP)).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In addition, the JCR has had contacts with most Latin American Communist parties and many student extremist organizations. During 1976 and 1977, the JCR devoted much of its efforts in Europe to establishing and maintaining relations with dissident groups, particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean. In France alone, the JCR was in contact in 1977 with an estimated 16 organizations, many of them small groups of Latin American exiles such as the Solidarity Committee for the Struggle of the Ecuadorean People, the Guatemalan Solidarity Group, and the Committee for the Support of the Argentine People's Struggle.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Canada: JCR activists have had contact with the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Western Europe: There have been JCR contacts with most orthodox European Communist parties and with revolutionary groups in at least nine European countries, including Belgium, France (the "Solidarite" network of the late Henri Curiel), Great Britain, Italy (Red Brigades -BR; Continuous Struggle - LC), the Netherlands, Northern Ireland (the Provisional Wing of the Irish Republican Army - IRA - Provos), Portugal (League of Union and Revolutionary Action - LUAR; Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat/Revolutionary Brigades - PRP/BR), Spain (Basque Fatherland and Freedom - ETA), Sweden, and West Germany (Baader-Meinhof Group; Latin American Students Section - AELA). The JCR also has the support and cooperation of the European-based Third International (Socialist) and Fourth International (Trotskyite) organizations. It has used the FI's clandestine apparatus to organize its meetings with other revolutionary movements.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Middle East/Africa: JCR activists have had contact with Al Fatah/Black September Organization, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), including PFLP operative Ramirez Sanchez ("Carlos," "The Jackal"), and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). African JCR contacts include the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The Cuban Embassy in Lisbon coordinated JCR contacts with the MPLA and FRELIMO.

(U) Over 100 Latin American organizations, probably including most JCR affiliates, were represented at the Benghazi (Libya) Conference of Latin American Liberation Movements held from 25 January to 1 February 1979. Libya promoted it as the "first conference of the revolutionary progressive organizations and movements" of Latin America. The agenda of the conference called for the drawing up of a unified plan for "struggle against fascism and imperialism of all types in Latin America."

Background:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Following its formation in February 1974, the JCR planned to launch the "continental war" in the Southern Cone area of South America. It coordinated several transnational plots against Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay, all of which failed. After the death of the JCR's prime mover, ERP leader Mario Santucho, in July 1976, and the ERP's subsequent repression in Argentina, the JCR was neutralized in the Southern Cone. Its only significant accomplishments during 1974-76 were the establishment and/or improvement of ties and solidarity with other revolutionary groups in Latin America, Europe, and Africa, and the establishment of a JCR solidarity and propaganda organization. By the end of 1976, the JCR's funds were nearly depleted.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ During 1977 and 1978, there were indications that some exiled members of JCR charter groups--ERP, MIR, MLN/Tupamaros--were actively assisting guerrilla groups in Venezuela, Colombia, and Nicaragua. It is not clear whether these exiles were acting on behalf of the JCR, but that would seem likely given their JCR ties. Other reports provided fragmentary evidence of JCR contacts with various groups in those countries.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Since 1977, the Argentine Montoneros appears to have replaced the ERP as the most internationally active Latin American guerrilla/terrorist organization, but its current status within the JCR is not known. The Montoneros' America Department, modeled after the Cuban PCC/CC's America Department, has apparently assumed some functions of the JCR in North and Latin America. Headquartered in Cuba and Panama, it has provided logistical support to the Nicaraguan FSLN and established contacts with "liberation movements" throughout Central and South America since 1977. In Latin America, the Montoneros America Department's objectives--to create a "movement for the liberation of the Southern Cone" and "movements for Latin American liberation"--parallel the JCR goals.

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Significant Activities:

November 1974 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Paraguayan security forces thwarted a suspected JCR-sponsored plot by a nine-member group of terrorists who planned to assassinate Paraguayan President Alfredo Stroessner. Following their arrest, the terrorists--six Paraguayans, two Argentinians, and one Peruvian--revealed their JCR affiliation.

November 1975 - ~~(C)~~ The local Chilean press reported that Chilean Government security forces had thwarted a major subversive plot originating in Argentina and code-named "Operation Red Boomerang." The press version stated that it involved 40 guerrilla leaders trained in Cuba and 200 guerrillas trained in Argentina. One hundred of the guerrillas had actually entered Chile. Chilean security forces were alerted to the plot in October when they discovered documents outlining it. Subsequent countermeasures resulted in its neutralization.

February 1976 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Chilean members of the Venezuelan Organization of Revolutionaries (OR) played a key role in coordinating the kidnaping of US business executive William Niehous in Caracas in the name of the Revolutionary Commando Group (GCR). Members of three JCR-oriented Venezuelan terrorist organizations--Red Flag (BR), including BR leader Carlos Betancourt, Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), including FALN leader Douglas Bravo, and the OR, including its Trotskyite political front, the Socialist League (LS)--all participated in the planning and execution of the operation. Niehous was rescued unharmed on 30 June 1979. [See Event Analysis section of the Argimiro Gabaldon Revolutionary Commando Group (CRAG--aka the Revolutionary Commando Group (GCR)).]

April 1976 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Paraguayan security forces accidentally discovered the existence of a terrorist organization, the Political-Military Organization (OPM), which was trained in exile by the ERP under JCR auspices to infiltrate and mount terrorist operations in Paraguay.

May 1976 - ~~(C)~~ Suspected of sponsoring the assassination in Paris of General J. Zenteno, Bolivian Ambassador to France, as part of a plot to kill military and political figures held responsible for the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

March 1977 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In a Cuban/JCR operation, 20 Cuban-trained ELN guerrillas traveled to Western Europe from Cuba for staging prior to infiltrating Bolivia. Whether they succeeded is not known.

April 1977 - ~~(C)~~ JCR-oriented groups--the Montoneros, ERP, and MLN-Tupamaros--were all connected to the kidnaping in Paris of the director-general of Fiat-France. He was later released for a ransom payment of US$2 million, of which Swiss police recovered US$1,590,000.

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Late 1977 to present - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The Cuban PCC/CC America Department helped to coordinate support for the Nicaraguan FSLN's "armed struggle," especially among Central American Communist Parties, leftist organizations, and "liberation movements." The latter included probable JCR affiliates such as the Guatemalan Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) and Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). A Chilean MIR network in Costa Rica served as a principal guerrilla liaison for coordinating FSLN support.

Event Analysis:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ JCR-oriented guerrilla/subversive operations have all been transnational in scope. They have involved some Cuban coordination of guerrilla organizations in the Southern Cone for the purpose of carrying out joint subversive activities against a targeted country, invariably one with a hardline anti-Communist government. JCR-sponsored operations in the Southern Cone during 1974-76 were unsuccessful. The Cuban coordination of support for the Nicaraguan FSLN during 1977-79, possibly under JCR auspices, resulted in an unprecedented degree of unity among Central American guerrilla/terrorist organizations, Communist parties, and other dissident groups.

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Montoneros

Estimated Strength:

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ As of October 1979, Argentine Army intelligence estimated that there were as many as 200 to 300 hardcore Montoneros in Argentina who were available for terrorist operations. Another 400 were estimated to be in exile.

Orientation/Goals:

(U) The Montonero Party, popularly known as the Montoneros, is an urban-oriented, anti-United States and anti-Argentine Government/oligarchy terrorist organization. Its ideology has oscillated between emphasis on Peronism and Marxism-Leninism. It is engaged in a "national liberation movement" which aims to reunify the fragmented Peronist movement and provide opposition to the Argentine regime.

Organization:

~~(S)~~ The Montoneros is organized on a Marxist-Leninist model with a party, an army, and a mass-based political organization known as the Peronist Montonero Movement (MPM). A major reorganization of the Montonero leadership structure was implemented during the meeting of the National Council (formerly the highest policymaking body of the Montonero Party) in Cuba in October 1978. The National Council was abolished at that meeting and was replaced by the Central Committee, with members coming from all three sectors of the movement. The Central Committee apparently acts as the official coordinating unit of the movement and is supposed to meet at least once per year. The first meeting was held in Cuba in 1979.

~~(S)~~ Operationally, the party, military, and political sectors of the movement are subordinate to the National Leadership of the Party, which is headed by Mario Eduardo Firmenich, and has headquarters in Cuba. Leadership and policymaking are operationally centralized in order to execute more effectively the movement's declared "counteroffensive" against the Argentine military government.

~~(S)~~ There are two levels of command within the National Leadership: the Strategic Command, which encompasses all members operating outside Argentina; and the Tactics Command, which is responsible for all members operating within Argentina. The subordinate policymaking structures of the National Leadership are the Military, Political, International Relations, and Agitation, Press, Propaganda and Indoctrination Secretariats. The Secretariat of International Relations is further divided into the American, European, and African/Middle East Departments, as well as a department for solidarity organizations.

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~~(S)~~ The American Department is the most important and active section of the Secretariat of International Relations. Organized in 1977, it is headed by Rodolfo Gabriel Galimberti and is based in Panama. Its principal objective is the creation of a "movement for the liberation of the southern cone," with an intermediate objective of coordination with other "movements for Latin American liberation" and other Latin American guerrilla/terrorist groups. The American Department also seeks to obtain US Government pressure on the Argentine military regime to return Argentina to democratic rule.

~~(S)~~ The MPM was partially changed by the actions taken at the National Council meeting in October 1978 and at the Central Committee meeting in June 1979. Its structure is basically the same, but it was stripped of much of its independence and adapted to meet the objective of the Party--the unification of the Montonero movement under the leadership of the National Leadership of the Party.

~~(S)~~ The Superior Council is the governing body of the MPM and directs its political and strategic actions. Roberto Cirilio Perdia is the most powerful figure in the MPM as its Executive Secretary and works closely with Firmenich to conduct the activities of the entire movement. There are six branches subordinate to the Superior Council which carry out the MPM activities: Political, Labor, Agrarian, Youth, Feminine, and Professional, Intellectual and Artistic Branches. Each branch is the responsibility of a First Secretary, who is aided by an assistant for financial affairs (fundraising) and an assistant for press affairs. The Central Press Headquarters for the MPM is in Madrid, and a small branch office is located in Mexico.

~~(C)~~ In the past, the Montonero Army has not been well-organized because most of its leaders were scattered in various countries, and its members in Argentina were dispersed in isolated, unconnected cells. During 1979, however, with the increased infiltration of Montoneros back into Argentina from abroad, some reorganization on the operational level took place.

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ Montoneros who have returned to Argentina within the past year are organized into two groups: the Special Infantry Troops (TEI), subordinate to the Military Secretariat, and the Special Activist Troops (TEA), subordinate to the Secretariat of Agitation, Press, Propaganda and Indoctrination. The TEI has about 30 highly trained experts who have been trained at special training camps in Lebanon. TEI personnel may also have been trained in Libya by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and in Spain by unidentified instructors. The TEI are organized into groups of approximately five men each and carry out selective terrorist activities using TNT charges and powerful plastique explosives. After a terrorist action, the members of these groups immediately leave the country and are replaced by new personnel. At least one unit within the TEI has been publicly identified--the "Horacio Mendizabal Combat Group."

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~~(S/NOFORN)~~ The TEA members are responsible for political activities, including strikes, propaganda, and psychological warfare. The Ministry of Defense estimates that there are about 70 TEA members, most of whom have returned from exile after receiving special training in Lebanon. TEA personnel may also have received training in agitation techniques in Libya by the PLO as well as additional training in Spain by unidentified instructors.

~~(C)~~ It is not clear if this new organization also applies to those Montoneros who have remained in Argentina. The TEA and TEI may complement the old organizational structure, which includes regional units called detachments (formerly called columns). There are about 12 detachments in the country, five of them in the Greater Buenos Aires area. These five are coordinated by the Secretary General of the Federal Capital Zone, Pablo Fernandez or Jorge Lewinger.

~~(C)~~ Each detachment controls several platoons, or cells, of four or five members each. Some platoons are divided into "subplatoons" of two members each. Each platoon is strictly compartmented to prevent compromise of other units.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ All actions must receive the approval of either the detachment chief or, in a few special cases, the Military Secretariat. Proposed actions are recommended to the detachment chief only after platoon members have conducted surveillance of the target. Orders from the detachment chiefs to their subordinate platoons are conveyed by means of cassette tapes or through the clandestine Montonero zonal bulletin, Federal Star.

Key Personalities:

~~(C)~~ Mario Eduardo Firmenich ("Pepe"). Born 24 January 1948 in Buenos Aires. (See photo.)

~~(C)~~ Firmenich has been the principal Montonero leader since 1970. He is Commander in Chief of the Montonero Army and Secretary General of the Party and of the Movement. He is a dedicated advocate of continued "armed struggle" (terrorism).

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Firmenich was still in Nicaragua as of October 1979. He provided logistical support for the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) which overthrew former President Anastasio Somoza Debayle and has remained in Nicaragua because he has relative freedom of movement there. Since the Sandinista victory in July 1979, Firmenich has traveled to Europe several times for short periods on undetermined business.

~~(C)~~ Firmenich, 1977.

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(U) Fernando Hugo Vaca Narvaja ("Facundo," "Nicolas," "German," "Vasco," "Daniel"). Born 7 January 1948 in Cordoba. (See photo.)

~~(S)~~ Vaca is a "second commander" in the National Leadership, with the title of Secretary for International Relations of the Party and the Movement.

(U) A principal advocate of "armed struggle," Vaca has a long record of terrorist activities. He escaped from Rawson Prison in southern Argentina in August 1972 and helped commandeer a plane to Chile before going on to Cuba. He later reentered Argentina, was arrested and released in the general amnesty of 25 May 1973. Vaca was in Nicaragua with Firmenich in July 1979, at the time of Somoza's overthrow.

~~(C)~~ Raul Clemente Yagar (Yaguer, Yager) Mehring ("Roque," "Mario," "Jorge"). Born 20 July 1944 in Pilar, Santa Fe Province. (See photo.)

~~(S)~~ Yagar is in charge of the Military Secretariat and is Chief of the Tactical Command of the Movement. He is also commander of the Special Activist Troops. Yagar returned clandestinely to Argentina in August 1979 and is at large within the country.

~~(C)~~ Roberto Cirilio Perdia ("Carlitos," "Pelado"). Born 9 July 1941 in Buenos Aires Province. (See photo.)

~~(S)~~ Perdia is Political Secretary of the Party and Executive Secretary of the MPM.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Reportedly based in Mexico, Perdia is responsible for the leadership of the Montonero detachments in Argentina.

~~(S)~~ Eduardo Daniel Pereyra Rossi ("Carlon"). (See photo.)

~~(S)~~ Pereya is in charge of the Secretariat of Agitation, Press, Propaganda and Indoctrination. As such, he is also commander of the Special Infantry Troops. He is at large within Argentina.

~~(C)~~ Horacio Domingo Campiglia ("Petrus"). Born 6 June 1949. (See photo.)

~~(S)~~ Campiglia is a "second commander" in the National Leadership and is responsible for a new structure called the Auxiliary Command Secretariat (SAC). In this position he is in charge of communications for both the TEI and TEA forces. Argentine intelligence sources report that he is in Argentina after having spent an extended period of time in Brazil.

(U) Rodolfo Gabriel Galimberti. (See photo.)

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(U) Vaca, 1979.

~~(C)~~ Yagar, 1979.

~~(C)~~ Perdia, 1979.

~~(C)~~ Pereyra, 1979.

~~(C)~~ Campiglia, 1979.

(U) Galimberti, 1979.

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~~(S)~~ Based in Panama, Galimberti is the head of the American Department of the Secretariat of International Relations.

(U) He is considered to be one of the Montonero theoreticians and has been a strong supporter of establishing "popular militias" in Argentina. He has been involved in foreign propaganda campaigns against the Argentine Government and reportedly maintains ties with numerous European guerrillas whom he has instructed in kidnaping methods and weapons use.

Headquarters/Bases:

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ Since late 1977, the Montonero National Leadership has operated mainly from exile in Italy, Spain, Lebanon, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, and other countries. The National Leadership headquarters was moved to Cuba in about October 1978 in an effort to reorganize and centralize operations. In December 1978, approximately 20 high-ranking Montonero members reportedly entered Argentina from Bolivia. In July 1979, at least two of the Montonero leaders were known to be in Nicaragua.

~~(C)~~ Within Argentina, the main Montonero forces are located in Buenos Aires Province, particularly in the Greater Buenos Aires area. The major concentration of other Montonero detachments is in the industrial Rosario area.

Tactics/Methods of Operation:

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ The Montoneros has maximized its limited numbers and capabilities by carrying out small-scale attacks in the Greater Buenos Aires area. Montonero members use a rotation system whereby active combatants go undercover or leave the country after each attack and are replaced by a new group. Although attacks are apparently coordinated by the Montonero leadership, Montonero members operate in widely dispersed groups, each of which conducts its own small, independent operation. Once employing as many as five vehicles and 20 men in an operation, they now usually use no more than three vehicles with only two or three members in each.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ From March until about November 1979, the Montoneros transmitted a series of clandestine broadcasts from trucks using local television frequencies in both Cordoba and Buenos Aires. The broadcasts typically interrupted the audio and picture portions of regular programming for about 2 minutes in order to broadcast antigovernment messages. The reception area for these broadcasts was usually limited to a radius of about 10 city blocks. Argentine Government officials have been reluctant to publicize these broadcasts, and there has not been any recent reporting on them.

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~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Since mid-1977, Montonero strategy for the Greater Buenos Aires area has been to concentrate on developing greater influence in labor, student, and religious sectors. Its Political Secretariat attempts to promote the MPM on all these fronts. The Montonero noninfluential labor front, the General Labor Confederation/Resistance (CGT/R), together with another Montonero front organization called the Peronist Working Youth (JTP), have agitated for work stoppages and sabotage without much success. These Montonero front groups have seldom been in evidence in the labor sector during the past 2 years.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Montonero front organizations in the student sector are the Union of Secondary Students (UES) and the Peronist University Youth (JUP). Unlike the 1975 and 1976 period when the universities were the main source of Montonero recruiting, the Montonero influence in the student sector is now insignificant. The Montoneros has attempted to organize three religious groups--Social Christian Movement (MCS), Movement of Christian Unity (MUC), and Christians for Liberation (CPL).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Operational cooperation between the Montoneros and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Argentina has been minimal but relations have remained "fraternal" despite differences over strategy and tactics. In mid-1978, ERP and Montonero exiles in Europe formed the so-called Army for the Liberation of Argentina (ELA), probably to carry out fundraising kidnapings and armed robberies. However, nothing has been reported on this group since then.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ In Western Europe, the Montoneros has attempted to enhance the MPM's political image by exploiting the human rights issue as it relates to Argentina. Since early 1977, its propaganda outlet in Western Europe for news stories discrediting the Argentine Military Government has been the Argentine Clandestine News Agency (ANCLA). The Montoneros actively participated in Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) propaganda activities in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, most of which occurred during 1976 and 1977.

Weapons:

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ The Montoneros has a small supply of automatic weapons, including submachineguns, 9-mm machine pistols, and .38-caliber revolvers. Its inventory also includes 12.7- caliber shotguns, .63-caliber assault rifles, and Soviet-designed Kalashnikov AK-47 rifles.

(U) In December 1979 and January 1980, Argentine Armed Forces and security personnel discovered a large amount of arms, ammunition, and explosives belonging to the Montoneros. The arms caches had been concealed in

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cartons, furniture, and electronic equipment which had been stored in furniture warehouses in Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Santa Fe. The discovery of these weapons indicates that the Montoneros' arms supply is not as limited as previously reported and that they are still capable of smuggling arms into the country.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Although the Montoneros lost most of its formerly significant weapons manfacturing capability, the arms caches discovery indicates that the Montoneros still have a crude grenade manufacturing capability. Grenades with the designation "G70" and G40" are made with an exogenous plastique C-2 explosive and are favored by the Montoneros for attacks.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ The Montonero mid-1978 attempts to use Soviet RPG-7 antitank rocket launchers with armor-piercing grenades were unsuccessful. The personnel were inexperienced in handling such weapons which were unsuitable for firing from parked automobiles.

(U) The Montoneros obtained the RPG-7 weapons from the PLO in exchange for making the exogenous plastique C-2 explosive base available to the PLO.

Training:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ At present, individuals recruited by the Montoneros in Argentina who have no previous Montonero ties are sent to Brazil for preliminary screening as to suitability for guerrilla life. If the recruit looks promising, he is sent to a base in Mexico where he receives Montonero political indoctrination. At least 25 Montonero recruits were sent to the Mexican base during 1979. Those personnel with the greatest potential are then sent to Lebanon or Libya for more specialized training, which is supported both militarily and logistically by the PLO.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ In Lebanon, three 30-day courses are offered. It is not clear, however, whether PLO personnel actually do the instructing. Course #1 instructs about six or seven individuals to become couriers and/or contacts; no military training is provided. Course #2 is designed to train approximately 10 TEI members in armaments, explosives, and special operations techniques. Armament instruction includes familiarization with and firing of all available weapons, marksmanship, arms maintenance, and weapons transportation and concealment. Special operations training includes "hit and run" techniques and culminates with a practical exercise carried out by the entire class. Course #3 provides instruction to approximately 16 TEA personnel in the theoretical and technical aspects of radio/television transmissions, with emphasis on techniques to interrupt such broadcasts.

~~(S)~~ Sec. 3.3(b) (1) some TEI and TEA personnel receive their training in Libya by members of the PLO. They then travel to a Montonero-owned house in a residential suburb of Madrid, Spain, for unidentified additional training.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Various locations in Latin America, Africa, and Europe are also used as training bases for Montonero personnel. Argentine military authorities believe that some Montonero cadre received Cuban training in Cuba from 1970-73, in Angola in 1977, and in Tanzania in 1978, at the expense of the Tanzanian Government. Those Montoneros who reportedly fought with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua during 1979 were also trained in Cuba. Montonero cadre have reportedly received military training in Algeria and propaganda and intelligence training in Czechoslovakia. It is not clear, however, who provided the instruction in Algeria and Czechoslovakia.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ In the past, the Montonero organization has published elaborate training manuals, including Regulations for Organizing Political Military Activity and The Military Instruction Manual, which discuss guerrilla warfare, urban terrorism, making bombs, enduring torture, etc. One 16-hour-a-day, 4-day instruction course reportedly involves practice with weapons such as pistols, submachineguns, shotguns, grenades and grenade launchers, and explosives. Tactics taught in the course involve kidnaping, assassination, and use of vehicles.

Finances:

Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The current status of Montonero finances is not known. However, a purported Montonero contribution of US$500,000 to the Nicaraguan FSLN in July 1979 is an indication that the financial situation is still healthy. [redacted] stated that the Montonero financial situation had suffered because of the failure to execute ransom operations. At that time, nevertheless, the organization was still receiving support from unidentified foreign groups and had money deposited in Swiss banks.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ During 1975 and 1976, the Montoneros, then one of the wealthiest terrorist organizations in the world, provided financial assistance to the JCR, the ERP, and the Argentine Labor Power Communist Organization (OCPO). Following his capture in February 1977, the Montonero national secretary for finance cooperated with Argentine authorities in securing the withdrawal of US$85 million in monetary reserves from bank accounts in Europe and Argentina. These Montonero funds had accumulated from fundraising kidnapings, extortion, and armed robberies over the years.

(U) In April 1977, a political scandal subsequently resulted in Argentina when a Buenos Aires Provincial Police investigation revealed that, in 1974, the Argentine international financier David Graiver (who allegedly is dead), in collusion with former Peronist Economy Minister Jose Gelbard, had acted as the Montonero financial front man and invested US$17.8 million of Montonero money to provide the organization with interest payments of US$130,000 a month.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Since mid-1975, the Montoneros has had a very active Secretariat of International Relations which is responsible for maintaining relations in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Soviet Union.

(U) Latin America: The Montoneros maintains known contacts in Nicaragua, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, and Brazil.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In the past, the Montoneros was affiliated with the JCR and provided financial support, as mentioned earlier. Because of the apparently moribund status of the JCR at present, it is not known whether these ties still exist. It is interesting to note, however, that the objectives of the Montonero American Department are very similar to those of the JCR.

(U) The MPM announced in Panama City on 2 October 1978 that it supported "the just and legitimate struggle of the Nicaraguan people and their leader, the FSLN."

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ The Montoneros contributed active combat support as well as substantial financial backing to the FSLN campaign to overthrow the government of former president Somoza, according to Argentine military authorities.

(U) Firmenich denies that Montoneros actually fought with the FSLN, but admits that a Montonero medical brigade was present in the Masaya region of Nicaragua during the conflict.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As previously mentioned, the Montoneros currently maintains training bases in both Brazil and Mexico.

(U) The late Montonero leader Mendizabal admitted in a July 1978 press interview that relations are maintained with the Cuban Government.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Contact is maintained with the America Department of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, probably through Cuban Embassies and occasional visits to Cuba by Montonero members. Cuban training has been mentioned.

(U) The Soviet military attache and the first secretary of the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission in Mexico reportedly attended a Montonero ceremony held in Mexico City on 28 July 1977 inaugurating the opening there of an MPM Central Committee office. Pressure from the Argentine Government forced the Mexican Government to close it 3 weeks later.

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(U) Western Europe: The Montoneros has contacts with French and Spanish opposition political parties. French Socialist Party (PS) leader Francois Mitterrand announced on 20 September 1978 that he was putting the Paris headquarters of the PS at the service of the Montoneros because it is a movement "fighting for freedom, independence and democracy."

(U) In July 1977, Firmenich held meetings in Madrid with Santiago Carrillo, Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE); Enrique Tierro Galvan, head of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP); and Felipe Gonzalez, Secretary General of the Spanish Parliament, to discuss their political support for the Montoneros. The PSP gave the Montoneros its slot at the Socialist International meeting held in Barcelona on 15-16 October 1977.

~~(S)~~ The Montoneros has also made contacts at the Spanish Ministry of Interior level through the Montonero leaders Vaca and Oscar Bidegain (a former Peronist governor of Buenos Aires Province who was exiled from Argentina after the 1976 military takeover). These contacts have given the Montoneros a semilegal status in Spain which has provided access to political, labor, and Spanish Government officials.

~~(S)~~ Because of their semilegal status, the Montoneros has purchased a house called "Casa del Pueblo Argentine" (Argentine People's House) in the wealthy Madrid suburb of Puerta de Hierro. The house apparently serves as a training center as well as a headquarters for most of the MPM and Party members who are not involved in the international leadership program. Madrid was reportedly chosen as a headquarters because of decreasing support from leftist parties and leaders in France and Italy. Also, in Spain there is no language problem. Perdia, the Political Secretary of the Montonero Party, visits the house on a daily basis when he is in Spain. The house is protected by the Spanish Guardia Civil which patrols the area in a vehicle.

(U) Middle East: In November 1977, a news agency report from Mexico City said that, according to Montonero leaders there, the group maintains connections with the PLO and with Al Fatah.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

PLO-Montonero contact was established in 1976. Since early 1975, the Montoneros has also maintained contacts with the Syrian, Iraqi, and Algerian Governments through their embassies in Buenos Aires, and probably elsewhere. Selected members have visited some Arab countries in search of weapons and financial support.

(U) A Montonero delegation consisting of the Chief of the "Operations Room" ("Major Marjon") and the Chief of the "Special Forces" ("Capt Alcides") visited Palestinian guerrillas in southern Lebanon in late June 1978 and met with Khalil al Wazir (Abu Jihad), a member of the Fatah Central Committee and commander of Fatah's Al-Asifah forces.

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(U) A Montonero delegation headed by Mendizabal paid a 10-day visit to Lebanon, in September 1978, at the invitation of the PLO to meet with Al Fatah leaders, including Abu Jihad. Mendizabal announced at the end of his visit that the Montoneros had passed on its exogenous plastique explosive formula to Al Fatah, and that in exchange, Montonero members were receiving Palestinian weapons and training.

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ As mentioned above, Montoneros cadre now receive their final stage of training in Lebanon and/or Libya. The training is supported by the PLO and at least in Libya is taught by the PLO.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Reportedly, some Montoneros have also received training in Algeria.

(U) Libyan-made articles of clothing were found on the bodies of the Montoneros killed in the November 1979 attack on Argentine Government economic adviser Dr. Francisco Soldatti.

~~(S)~~ A Montonero delegation reportedly visited South Yemen in June-July 1978. Tentative contacts have also been made with unidentified groups in Syria.

(U) Africa: The Montoneros has had contacts in several African countries. A Montonero delegation visited Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in August 1977, for meetings with leaders of African liberation movements. In December 1977, two Montonero representatives arrived in that city to establish a permanent office. The PLO granted them the use of its office for an indefinite period. An MPM delegation visited Maputo, Mozambique, in late March 1978, and met with officials of the National Liberation Front of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

~~(S/NOFORN)~~ Montonero combat elements which received Cuban training in Angola during 1977 were reportedly used in combat there in support of the Marxist regime.

(S) The Montoneros also has made tentative contacts in Uganda, Zaire, and Madagascar.

Background:

(U) The Montoneros ("bushwhackers") was organized as a legal Peronist youth group in 1968. It emerged as a terrorist organization in 1970, receiving wide publicity for its May-June kidnaping, trial, and execution of a former Argentine president. It adopted a Marxist-Leninist orientation after the June 1973 merger with the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). In 1974, the Montoneros absorbed a faction of the Peronist Armed Forces (FAP) and the Maoist-oriented Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL).

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(U) In September 1974, in response to a stepped-up government anti-guerrilla campaign, the Montoneros declared "war" on Mrs. Peron's government. For political reasons, the Peronist government did not specifically outlaw the Montoneros until 8 September 1975. During 1975 and 1976, the Montoneros was the most active and dangerous urban terrorist organization in the Western Hemisphere. It also became the wealthiest, accumulating millions of dollars from fundraising kidnapings.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ On seizing power in a military coup in March 1976, General Jorge Videla mounted a major antiguerrilla campaign which crippled the Montoneros. By the end of 1976, Montonero strength had been reduced by 80 percent, leaving only 1,000 members, of whom about 300 were activists. Despite continued setbacks, the Montoneros carried out 700 "military" actions in Argentina during 1977. In 1978, Argentine authorities claimed the Montoneros had perpetrated 343 terrorist acts. In September 1979, Horacio Alberto Mendizabal, commander of the Special Infantry Troops and a member of the National Council, and Armando Daniel Croatto, commander of the Special Activist Troops, were killed in confrontations with Argentine police.

~~(C)~~ During the fall of 1979, the Montoneros carried out a series of attacks against Ministry of Economy officials. This "counteroffensive" was ordered by Firmenich and was designed to gain popular support within Argentina by targeting officials responsible for the unpopular national economic policies. The Montoneros were hoping for a return of widespread government repression which would alienate the people from the government and bolster support for the Montoneros.

Significant Activities:

May-June 1970 - (U) Kidnaped and later murdered Pedro Aramburu (President, 1955-58).

September 1974 - (U) Kidnaped Jorge and Juan Born, owners of Argentina's largest grain exporting company. They were freed on 20 June 1975 for a record US$60-million ransom payment.

November 1974 - (U) Blew up the Federal Police Chief and his wife in their private yacht with a sophisticated remote-controlled bomb.

February 1975 - (U) Kidnaped the honorary US Consul in Cordoba and murdered him 2 days later after the Argentine Government refused to show four leftist Peronists on television who had 'disappeared' to prove they were alive.

July 1975 - (U) Simultaneously attacked 100 separate targets in the Greater Buenos Aires area, causing millions of dollars in damage.

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- (U) Kidnaped a British financier in Buenos Aires who had been kidnaped 2 years earlier by the ERP. As before, he was freed for a large ransom payment.

August 1975 - (U) Sabotaged an Argentine missile frigate in the final stages of construction by detonating an underwater charge on its hull, causing the ship to sink in shallow water.

- (U) Exploded a powerful remote-controlled bomb planted in the path of an Argentine C-130 Hercules transport plane carrying 116 soldiers as it was taking off in Tucuman; 5 were killed, 50 wounded.

October 1975 - (U) Attacked the army garrison, airport, and federal prison in Formosa, northern Argentina. Another group simultaneously commandeered an Argentine twin-jet Boeing 737 elsewhere in the country and forced it to land amid the fighting at the Formosa Airport, where some 30 besieged guerrillas boarded and the plane took off. Fifty people--civilians, soldiers, and terrorists--were killed in the various attacks.

December 1975 - (U) Kidnaped a German Mercedes-Benz manager in Buenos Aires; he was later freed for a ransom payment of US$5 million and publication of propaganda in worldwide newspapers.

- (U) Machinegunned at pointblank range two Argentine executives and a policeman during a raid on the offices of the Buenos Aires subsidiary of the US Bendix Corporation; all three were killed.

February 1976 - (U) Assassinated the public relations director of the Social Welfare Ministry.

- (U) Shot and killed the commander of an Argentine Air Force antiaircraft artillery group.

March 1976 - (U) Exploded a powerful remote-controlled bomb in the parking lot of the Argentine Army Command Headquarters in Buenos Aires moments before President Videla arrived for work; nine persons were killed.

June 1976 - (U) Blew up the Federal Police Chief with a bomb planted under his bed by a Montonero girlfriend of his daughter. The apartment was totally destroyed by the exogenous, plastique bomb.

July 1976 - (U) Exploded a 20-pound bomb in the cafeteria of the heavily guarded Federal Security Headquarters building of the Argentine Federal Police; 19 persons were killed, most of them NCOs, 65 others were wounded, 10 critically. Damage to the building was extensive.

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- (U) Blew up a police bus in Rosario with a remote-controlled bomb planted in its path and then raked it with machinegun fire; 13 policemen were killed and 17 wounded.

- (U) Exploded a bomb in an officers club in Buenos Aires; 50 persons were wounded, mostly relatives of military men.

December 1976 - (U) Shot and killed the director of the military strategy session at the Superior War College and, in a separate action, an army battalion chief.

- (U) Exploded a shrapnel bomb in a briefcase left in the film projection room of the Navy Intelligence Service building by a Montonero employed at the Defense Ministry's Planning Department; 11 persons were killed and 23 wounded.

April 1977 - (U) Kidnaped the director-general of Fiat-France in Paris. The victim was released for a ransom payment of US$2 million. The Montonero member completed the transaction and then was arrested. Swiss police recovered US$1.6 million. The victim previously had been targeted by the Montoneros when he lived in Argentina.

- ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Since Uruguayan MLN-Tupamaros and Argentine ERP members were also involved in the kidnaping, it may have been a JCR fundraising action.

May 1977 - (U) Attacked and seriously wounded the Argentine Foreign Minister.

October 1977 - (U) Shot and killed five executives in separate attacks in the Greater Buenos Aires area.

- (U) Shot and killed a French Peugeot executive and severely wounded his police bodyguard, near Buenos Aires.

February 1978 - (U) Exploded a bomb in the press center for the World Cup Soccer Championship games in Buenos Aires; one policeman was killed.

August 1978 - (U) Exploded a powerful bomb in a vacant apartment on the floor below that of Vice Admiral Lambruschini, Chief of Naval Staff and Navy Commander-designate (a ruling Junta Member since September 1978). Two persons were killed, including the Admiral's 15-year-old daughter whose bedroom was closest to the impact of the blast, and 10 persons injured. Four floors of the apartment building were destroyed.

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September 1979 - (U) Killed two bodyguards and exploded a powerful bomb in the home of Guillermo Walter Klein, Secretary of Economic Planning and Coordination in the Ministry of Economics. Klein and members of his family suffered minor injuries in the attack. ("Horacio Mendizabal Combat Group")

November 1979 - (U) Attacked the car of Treasury Secretary Dr. Juan Alemann in the Buenos Aires suburb of Belgrano with rocket grenades and machineguns. Alemann escaped unharmed, but his two aides suffered injuries in the attack.

- (U) Machinegunned and bombed the car of Dr. Francisco Soldatti, an adviser to the Minister of Economy and a former president of the Italo-Argentine Electric Company, in downtown Buenos Aires. Soldatti and his chauffeur were killed as were three of the Montoneros, who died when explosives in their truck were detonated during the confrontation with police.

Event Analysis:

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ The Montoneros has been very successful in bombing high-ranking personnel and their living quarters. Despite the loss of most of its formerly significant weapons manufacturing capability in late 1976 and early 1977, the Montoneros has retained the capability of making and planting highly sophisticated, powerful bombs. Plastique bombs, rocket bombs, shrapnel bombs, and TNT charges have all been used by the Montoneros, with remote-controlled detonation of bombs as a favorite technique.

(U) Three of the most recent significant Montonero actions are typical of its actions in the past. Each was conducted after detailed surveillance of the target. In the August 1978 bombing of Vice Admiral Lambruschini's apartment, two Montoneros posing as government narcotics agents gained entrance to a vacant apartment adjacent to Lambruschini's. They planted a powerful bomb on the ceiling of the vacant apartment which was probably detonated by an unidentified timing device about 1 hour after their departure. The Lambruschini apartment and four floors of the building were completely destroyed.

(U) The 27 September 1979 attack on the home of Ministry of Economics official Guillermo Walter Klein involved a more active approach. Approximately 10 to 12 Montoneros, including "many" women, were involved. They used five Ford Falcons and were dressed as provincial police officials. Several members of the group patrolled the street as the others attacked Klein's bodyguards with high-caliber automatic weapons, killing two of the four. The Montoneros then planted approximately 30 kilograms (about 66 pounds) of TNT charges around the house. The charges were detonated with hand grenades a few minutes later, leveling the house. Miraculously, Klein and members of his family escaped with only minor injuries.

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~~(S)~~ At mid-morning on 13 November 1979, in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires, the car transporting economic adviser Francisco Soldatti was intercepted by a covered pickup truck carrying three men and two women members of the Montoneros. A police vehicle happened to arrive on the scene as the Montoneros opened automatic weapons fire on Soldatti's car and a shootout ensued. An explosion occurred as one the the women members was about to throw a Montonero-fabricated grenade into the rear of Soldatti's car. Both Soldatti's car and the Montoneros' truck exploded and were engulfed in flames, resulting in the deaths of Soldatti, his chauffeur, and three of the Montoneros. The other two Montoneros, a man and a woman, escaped but were later apprehended, badly wounded.

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People's Revolutionary Army (ERP - Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo)

Estimated Strength:

~~(C)~~ In December 1978, there were a maximum of 90 ERP/Workers Revolutionary Party (PRT) leaders in exile and about 140 members in Argentina.

Orientation/Goals:

(U) The ERP is a Castroite-oriented, extremely anti-US, Marxist-Leninist urban terrorist organization which has been suppressed in Argentina. It is the "military" arm of the PRT, an outlawed Marxist-Leninist (Trotskyite) party. As a leading member of the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR), the ERP has actively sought the unification of other Latin American Marxist-Leninist terrorist organizations.

~~(C)~~ The basic objective of the ERP/PRT has been to act as a catalyst in a popular uprising led by the working class to overthrow the Argentine regime and eliminate "capitalist imperialism" in Argentina, especially US economic influence. Since rejoining the Trotskyite Fourth International (FI) in mid-1977 after a 4-year rupture, the ERP/PRT has pursued the FI policy of emphasizing political activism rather than "armed struggle."

Organization:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The ERP is organized on a Marxist-Leninist model with a "military" apparatus, the ERP, and a party, the PRT. The ERP and PRT leadership, which is mostly in exile, is indistinguishable. In the past, it closely coordinated with the JCR which it helped to establish. Present JCR ties are not known.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As of May 1978, the national-level ERP leadership in Argentina consisted of a 12- to 15-member Political Secretariat. It was organizing regional support groups consisting of 15 members each and subdivided into 3-member cells. Two support groups were functioning, and a third was being formed. Each cell had a chief and two other members and was independent from other cells. Support-group chiefs were maintaining contact with cell leaders.

Key Personalities:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Enrique Gorriaran Merlo ("Captain Ricardo," "El Peludo" - "Hairy"). (See photo.)

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Gorriaran is a longtime top ERP leader, probably second in command. From a wealthy family, he voluntarily abandoned his life of affluence to join the ERP. A dedicated and fanatical Marxist-Leninist, he is also a high level PRT member. He has been active on behalf of the JCR.

(U) Gorriaran, 1973.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Carlos Emilio All ("Captain Alejandro").

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The ERP's intelligence and logistics chief, All is also a member of the Political Secretariat.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Raul Concetti ("Leopoldo," "El Gringo Regelio," "Galeano").

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Member, Political Secretariat.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Julio Alfredo Oropel ("El Negro Jorge" - "Black George").

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Member, Political Secretariat.

Headquarters/Bases:

~~(C)~~ Most national-level ERP/PRT leaders are in exile, probably based in Paris or Madrid. Most remaining members in Argentina operate in the Greater Buenos Aires area.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As of March 1978, the ERP had established a base in southern Brazil. Other members were operating out of Uruguay. There has been no further information on a reported ERP attempt in 1978 to establish a base in Bolivia.

Tactics/Methods of Operation:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ ERP terrorists operate in cells of two or four members each. Since many ERP members have been living in Brazil or Uruguay and there are few ERP safehouses left in the Buenos Aires area, the ERP occasionally sends a four-man team from those countries to carry out a specific operation in Argentina and then return to their foreign base. Exiled ERP members have been active in fundraising activities outside Argentina; these have included a kidnaping in France and another in Colombia. Exiled ERP members have also cooperated with other Latin American terrorist exiles in fundraising kidnapings. In Argentina, the ERP is limited to some labor/industrial propagandizing and organizational work.

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Weapons:

~~(C)~~ The ERP's weapons inventory has been reduced to limited quantities of explosives and small arms--pistols, revolvers, and shotguns. Its formerly significant capability for manufacturing and planting remote-controlled bombs has been minimized.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In its peak years (1970-75), the ERP manufactured its own machineguns, a 9-mm machine pistol, handgrenades, bombs and rocket launchers, but this capability was reduced in 1976.

Training:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The ERP's present status of training is not known. During the 1971-76 period, ERP members received guerrilla/terrorist training at ERP and JCR cadre schools or training camps located in urban and rural areas of Argentina. Some members received training in Cuba during that period. [redacted]

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Finances:

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ As of December 1978, the ERP/PRT had limited funds. Its leaders in Europe were using them to produce propaganda. The exiled organization was not supporting elements in Argentina.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Formerly one of the wealthiest terrorist groups in Latin America, the ERP has been financially insolvent since mid-1976. By late 1976, it had lost its former capability for successfully carrying out fundraising kidnapings in Argentina. Its funds were so low at that time that it requested and received an emergency US$500,000 loan from the Montoneros. ERP exiles engaged in fundraising activities during 1978 which included two kidnapings for ransom in France and Colombia.

International Connections:

~~(C)~~ There have been no recent reports on the ERP's present international connections. As a charter JCR member, the ERP has ties with many terrorist organizations in Latin America and Europe. It also had ties with most Communist parties in Latin America during its activist phase, 1971-77.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The ERP received limited Cuban support between 1971 and 1976, including training, propaganda, and logistical support, such as forged documents and other technical assistance. The Cuban Government also allowed the use of its diplomatic pouch for the channeling of funds and documents to the ERP in Argentina. Since then Cuba has not provided any known direct support to the ERP in Argentina.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In the past, ERP exiles maintained contacts with other Latin American terrorist exiles. In mid-1978, ERP and Montonero exiles in Europe formed the so-called Army for the Liberation of Argentina (ELA), probably for the purpose of carrying out joint fundraising kidnapings and armed robberies. However, there is no recent information on this organization.

Background:

(U) At its first congress in July 1970, the Trotskyite PRT announced the formation of a guerrilla arm under the leadership of PRT Secretary General Mario Santucho. During the next 5 years, the ERP raised millions of dollars through fundraising kidnapings of US and other foreign business executives. After the ERP/PRT broke with the FI in January 1973, two Trotskyite factions broke away from the ERP: the Liberation Army-22 August and the Red Faction. The former later rejoined the ERP, and police destroyed the latter. The Peronist government outlawed the ERP in September 1973; the ERP then began emphasizing transnational alliances and the formation of the JCR.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Although primarily an urban-based guerrilla organization, the ERP opened a rural guerrilla offensive in Tucuman Province in June 1974. However, by mid-1976, the Argentine Armed Forces crushed the ERP's rural offensive. They also inflicted a decisive blow on the ERP's urban organization by killing several principal leaders, including Santucho, in July 1976. The ERP's unsuccessful attack on an army arsenal in Buenos Aires in December 1976 resulted in 86 ERP deaths and numerous arrests. The debacle left the ERP with only 300 guerrillas. During the next 6 months this remnant force was nearly eradicated.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ By mid-1977, the ERP/PRT had rejoined the FI and had begun emphasizing political activism. Argentine security services attributed 130 terrorist acts during the year to the ERP's 30 to 40 militants. None of the acts was of major significance except for a near miss in blowing up the Argentine President's plane. During 1978, the ERP perpetrated 45 terrorist acts in Argentina, none significant. It also reorganized to a limited extent in Buenos Aires. There has been no recent reporting on ERP activities.

Significant Activities:

February 1971 - (U) Kidnaped a US executive of the Swift meatpacking firm and exacted a ransom of US$60,000 worth of clothing and food for the poor.

April 1972 - (U) Kidnaped the Argentine director of Fiat.

March 1973 - (U) Overran the construction site of the Atucha atomic power plant for publicity.

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- (U) Extorted US$1 million worth of food and medical supplies for the poor from the Ford Motor Company subsidiary, after shooting and wounding two of its Argentine officials.

June 1973 - (U) Kidnaped a US executive of the Firestone Tire Company subsidiary in Buenos Aires; he was freed in early July in exchange for a reported US$3 million.

July 1973 - (U) Kidnaped a British financier in Buenos Aires; a ransom payment of US$2 million was paid for his release.

November 1973 - (U) Assassinated the US general manager of Transax, a Ford Motor Company subsidiary, in Cordoba.

December 1973 - (U) Kidnaped a US executive of the Exxon Company in Buenos Aires; he was freed on 29 April 1974 for a record ransom payment of US$14.2 million.

January 1974 - (U) Attacked the Azul military garrison in Buenos Aires, killing the commander and his wife and wounding several officers and soldiers; 2 of the 60 to 70 attackers were killed and 20 captured.

- (U) Kidnaped a US executive of Pepsi International.

April 1974 - (U) Kidnaped and severely wounded a USIA official in Cordoba; he was abandoned shortly thereafter because of his critical condition.

December 1975 - (U) Attacked an army arsenal depot in Monte Chingolo, Buenos Aires Province; 86 ERP attackers were killed, 23 wounded; 2 policemen and 7 soldiers were killed and 20 soldiers wounded.

February 1977 - (U) Exploded a powerful remote-controlled bomb planted in a culvert under the runway of the Buenos Aires municipal airport as the plane carrying President Videla and high-ranking cabinet officials was taking off; runway damage only, but a near miss.

April 1977 - ~~(C)~~ Kidnaped, in Paris, the director-general of Fiat-France, in a joint operation with the Montoneros in order to repay a US$500,000 debt to that group. The victim was later released for a ransom payment of US$2 million. A Montonero member completed the exchange transaction and then was arrested. Swiss police recovered US$1.6 million. Since the Uruguayan MLN-Tupamaros was also implicated in the kidnaping, it may have been a JCR fundraising action.

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July 1978 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Kidnaped a US citizen in Santa Marta, Colombia, in an attempt to raise funds for the ERP. The arrest of one of the kidnapers for possession of false documentation and subversive material led to the rescue of the victim 45 days after his abduction, and the arrest of four other implicated ERP members.

Event Analysis:

(U) In the past, a favorite tactic of the ERP has been the perpetration of kidnapings for fundraising purposes. The ERP has been inactive of late, however, and has not carried out any significant activities since July 1978.

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Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR - Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria)

Estimated Strength:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Approximately 100 to 150 members in Chile; perhaps as many as a few hundred abroad.

Orientation/Goals:

~~(C)~~ The MIR is a Marxist-Leninist, anti-US terrorist organization which has both a Castroite and Trotskyite orientation. It is a charter member of the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) and has loose ties to the Trotskyite Fourth International (FI). It is largely suppressed in Chile.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In early March 1979, the Havana-based MIR leaders, who had been advocating "armed struggle" (terrorism), ordered the MIR in Chile to institute new tactics to change the MIR's image from "crazy bombers" to a legitimate Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat. Reportedly, Cuban President Fidel Castro persuaded the MIR leaders residing in Havana to pursue political activism in accordance with the strategy of the Moscow-based dissident MIR faction, which has advocated the nonrevolutionary, nonconfrontation policy of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh).

Organization:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR is poorly organized in Chile. Its members are scattered among dozens of small, regional cells which are compartmented and unconnected, resulting in little control over them by the MIR leadership in Chile. These cells, or "action commands," are composed of activists from various dissident groups in addition to the MIR. These groups include the United Popular Action Movement (MAPU)-Radical Garreton faction, the pro-MIR faction of the Christian Left (IC), and the National Regional Coordinator (CNR) faction of the Socialist Party (PS).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In July 1979, there were approximately 30 MIR members in Santiago, probably organized in six five-man cells, who are considered "renegade" terrorists. They are heavily armed and refuse to cease acts of violence.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR leadership abroad is organized on a Marxist-Leninist model with a Political Commission and a Central Committee headed by a Secretary General. MIR Central Committee members in Havana issue instructions to the MIR chief in Chile and to members in various other countries.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR's external structure has two active components, both of which in the past have coordinated closely with the JCR. The most important is the American Section which is based in Havana. It includes the MIR Central Committee members residing there. In the past, it arranged for financial and logistical assistance for the MIR and managed a cadre school in Cuba. It also maintains close contact with the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee's (PCC/CC) America Department and its Chief, Manuel Pineiro Losada. The European Section was based in Paris and was responsible for international solidarity matters.

Key Personalities:

(U) Andres Pascal Allende ("Pituto"). Born about 1942. (See photo.)

~~(C)~~ Secretary General of the MIR since November 1974, Pascal has been, until recently, a principal advocate of "armed struggle." He is the nephew of the deceased Marxist President Salvador Allende who was overthrown in the September 1973 military coup. Pascal took asylum in the Costa Rican Embassy in Santiago on 7 November 1975 and departed Chile on 21 January 1976 after being granted, reluctantly, safe conduct out of the country. He entered Costa Rica on 6 February 1976 and went to Cuba on 3 June 1976.

~~(FOUO)~~ Pascal, 1972.

(U) Pascal reportedly returned clandestinely to Chile in January 1979 to revitalize MIR operations.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ He was reportedly responsible for organizing the MIR group which attempted to rob a bank truck on 24 November 1979.

(U) Pascal allegedly has radically changed his facial features through plastic surgery.

(U) Nelson Gutierrez Yanez. Born about 1944.

~~(C)~~ The MIR's second in command since October 1975, Gutierrez has been, until recently, an advocate of "armed struggle." On 22 February 1975, he fled Chile for temporary political asylum in Sweden before traveling to Cuba.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Gutierrez left Cuba in February 1979 to enter Chile clandestinely to replace Hernan Aguilo as MIR chief. He was detained at a London airport with a false Spanish passport and on release fled to Libya where he disappeared.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Hernan Aguilo Martinez.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Aguilo has been the de facto leader of the factionalized MIR in Chile since November 1975. He returned to Santiago in November 1977 after living underground in southern Chile for 2 years. Based in the Temuco/Concepcion area, he has been attempting to establish MIR as a rural guerrilla organization.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Fernando Alarcon Obando ("Enriquez").

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Alarcon has been the leader of the MIR network in Costa Rica since February 1978. He entered Costa Rica in March 1975 under safe conduct from the Chilean Government. An expert in self-defense, he provided instruction to Nicaraguan guerrillas at sites in Costa Rica. He is a student at the National University of Costa Rica where he is active in the Association of Foreign Students. His wife is in charge of MIR finances in Costa Rica. His mother preceded him as MIR chief in Costa Rica.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Sergio Armijo.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As of November 1978, Armijo was the MIR international chief in exile in Paris.

(U) Patricio Antonio Biedman ("Nico").

(U) Biedman has served as the MIR representative within the JCR.

(U) Manuel Javier Cabieses Donoso.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ A member of the MIR's Central Committee, Cabieses has served as a leader of the MIR's Havana-based American Section. He is a principal advocate of the pro-PCCh nonconfrontation position. A former journalist, he attended a meeting of radical Chilean exiles in Algiers in early February 1978 and subsequently traveled to Europe.

~~(C)~~ Humberto Sotomayor.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Sotomayor is a Moscow-based member of the MIR's Central Committee and a principal advocate of the pro-PCCh nonconfrontation position. He was "expelled" from the MIR organization in Chile as a "coward" after taking asylum in the Italian Embassy in Santiago in October 1974 and then leaving Chile. Since then, he has lived in Moscow but continues to play a role in the pro-PCCh faction of the MIR abroad. He is also known to have spent an undetermined period of time in Cuba. In early 1978, he published an appeal to the MIR to dissolve itself and merge with the PCCh.

(U) Gaston Munoz Briones.

(U) A member of the MIR Central Committee, he was granted asylum in the Panamanian Embassy in Santiago in July 1979.

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Headquarters/Bases:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ MIR members in Chile are located in isolated cells, mainly in the Santiago area, but also in the Temuco/Concepcion area. The principal headquarters of the MIR leadership abroad is in Havana. Other leaders and members are based in Mexico City and Costa Rica. The headquarters of the MIR's European Section was in Paris as of 1977. Other leaders and members are based in Madrid, Lisbon, Rome, and Moscow.

Tactics/Methods of Operation:

~~(C)~~ The MIR engages mainly in organizational/propaganda activities in Chile. Its bulletin El Rebelde (The Rebel) serves as a propaganda medium.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Between September 1979 and March 1980, approximately 47 Cuban-trained MIR members known as the "Salvador Allende Liberation Command" (CLSA) returned clandestinely to Chile to implement a new antigovernment of Chile strategy. This new strategy involves the recruitment of new MIR members and the polarization of Chilean society. By perpetrating terrorist activities designed to provoke renewed government repression, the group hopes to win the support of the masses for the MIR. The strategy was developed in Cuba and has the approval of Fidel Castro as well as that of the two principal MIR leaders, Pascal and Gutierrez.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ During the past 2 years, recruits for the CLSA have been selected, with advice from the Cubans, from the worldwide Chilean exile community. Some of the personnel were already MIR members, while the others came from leftist groups such as MAPU, the PS, and the IC. The Cubans were especially interested in recruiting young, untainted, highly motivated Chileans who were still unknown to the Chilean security forces. The Cubans would like to see the CLSA become the vanguard of a new revolutionary movement in Chile. Sec. 3.3(b)(1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ [redacted] the CLSA recruits were sent to Cuban training centers in Ethiopia, Cambodia, South Yemen, Angola, and Mozambique, where they received military and subversive training under Cuban instructors. The cadre then returned to their host countries, primarily in Europe, before proceeding on to Chile, either legally or clandestinely. The Cubans provided all travel expenses for the CLSA personnel as well as funds for resettlement in Chile. Once in Chile, the cadre are expected to recruit and train additional terrorists and to participate in "important" terrorist activities, such as political kidnapings or assassinations. Retired General Manuel Contreras, former head of the Chilean National Directorate of Information (DINA), has been mentioned as a possible target of the CLSA.

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Weapons:

(U) The MIR is known to have used submachineguns, 9-mm pistols, and grenades in its most recent attacks. The MIR probably also has a limited bomb-making capability.

Training:

(U) During the Allende administration, a large number of elite MIR members were trained in Chile by members of the Cuban General Directorate for Intelligence (DGI). They served as President Allende's bodyguards and "shock troops."

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ MIR members have received training in Cuba in paramilitary tactics and in clandestine support functions, such as fabrication of identity documents, photography, and intelligence collection.

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ As of 1977, the MIR ran a cadre school in Cuba, possibly the JCR cadre school. Transnational training of MIR members has also included training in Argentina during the early 1970s with the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As mentioned above, MIR members have reportedly also received Cuban training at centers in Ethiopia, Cambodia, South Yemen, Angola, and Mozambique.

Finances:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT)~~ Between November 1979 and March 1980, the MIR executed a number of armed robberies which apparently served primarily as training exercises for new recruits and secondarily as fundraising activities. Although the total amount of money obtained in these robberies is not known, it is estimated to be at least US$65,000.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR has received Cuban financial support in the past. For example, a MIR leader arrested by Argentine security forces in August 1976 claimed to have received US$75,000 from a Cuban Embassy official in Buenos Aires to support MIR activities in Argentina. Cuban President Fidel Castro was reported to have cut off further funding of the MIR in early 1978.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the Cubans have provided substantial financial support during 1979 and 1980 for the formation, training, travel expenses, and resettlement of the members of the Salvador Allende Liberation Command.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR also has been heavily dependent on funds from other foreign sources. It used to receive some finanical

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assistance from the the Argentine ERP. As of mid-1977, the MIR was allegedly receiving financial assistance totaling US$200,000 per month, with the largest contributions coming from Mexico, Venezuela, and Libya. However, this money more likely has been used to fund the MIR's JCR activities. The World Council of Churches has contributed some funds to the MIR. French, Belgian, and English Trotskyite groups have provided substantial financial assistance.

International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR's international financial sources are listed above. The MIR has extensive international ties, especially with Cuba. The MIR's close contact with the PCC/CC's America Department has been mentioned, as have Cuban training, propaganda, financial and logistical support to the MIR. A MIR leader, Humberto Sotomayor, is based in Moscow.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The MIR has maintained ties with various Latin American terrorist organizations on its own behalf, as well as that of the JCR and Cuba. During mid-1978, the MIR's support apparatus in Costa Rica maintained close coordination with Cuba and trained members of the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). It is also a point of contact for other Latin American terrorist organizations, including the Argentine ERP, the Uruguayan Movement of National Liberation-Tupamaros (MLN-Tupamaros), the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party (PST), and the Bolivian Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTB).

Background:

(U) The MIR was founded by Chilean Trotskyites at the University of Concepcion in August 1965. It subsequently deemphasized its Trotskyite ties to accommodate its Castroite orientation. It carried out sporadic terrorist acts in 1969 and 1970. During the presidency of Marxist Slavador Allende in 1970-73, the MIR was active in promoting agrarian reform and led militant occupations of rural estates. Following the military coup in September 1973, most MIR members were forced to flee the country.

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ By mid-1974, infiltration into MIR ranks by security agents led to the arrest of many important leaders and the disintegration of much of the remaining organization, including the death of MIR leader Miguel Enriquez. Since 1976, the MIR has attempted to rebuild its organization in Chile by recruiting new members or revalidating memberships of former activists, with some resultant increase in size.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Since mid-1978, the MIR has committed bombings on a fairly regular basis. During 1979, approximately 80 bombings were attributed to the MIR in Chile, a sizable increase over the 47 MIR-related bombings of 1978. Between October 1979 and March 1980, there has been a flurry of MIR-connected

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robberies, apparently in a maximum effort to gain funds as well as international media coverage of its overt activities.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Despite these recent efforts to gain funds and notoriety, Chilean military officials believe that the MIR is still small and disorganized with little grass roots support in rural and urban areas. The financial affairs expert and "fourth ranking man" in the MIR chain of command, Ricardo Ruz Zanartu, was killed in a clash with police on 27 November 1979, providing another blow to the MIR organization.

Significant Activities:

June 1975 - ~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ Shot and killed an army intelligence officer who was investigating MIR arms smuggling in Talca Province.

November 1975 - ~~(C/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ MIR guerrillas were involved in a major subversive plot which was discovered by Chilean security forces in October and subsequently thwarted. The plot, originating in Argentina and code-named "Operation Red Boomerang," was sponsored by the JCR. It involved an attempt to infiltrate some 240 guerrillas into Chile.

May 1976 - ~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Three occupants of a car, who were believed to be MIR members, sped by the US Ambassador's residence firing several pistol shots. The home was unoccupied.

August 1978 - (U) Exploded a bomb outside the Chilean Defense Ministry.

November 1978 - (U) Suspected in a bomb attack which caused a 12-hour blackout in Valparaiso.

January 1979 - (U) Suspected in the explosion of a powerful bomb in a Santiago supermarket which caused extensive damage.

- (U) Suspected in a bomb attack which resulted in the destruction of the headquarters of the Youth General Secretariat in a town near Santiago.

February 1979 - (U) Exploded a bomb at the Regional Secretariat of Unions in Valparaiso and another at the United States-Chilean Cultural Institute in Santiago. The latter bombing caused extensive damage.

March 1979 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Suspected in two bomb explosions near the homes of a progovernment university student leader and the vice rector for student affairs, University of Chile, in Santiago.

- (U) Exploded a powerful bomb in front of the residence of the general manager of the Chilean Telephone Company, causing considerable damage.

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April 1979 - ~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Exploded a bomb which killed Lt. Luis Carevic, an active army officer and a longtime member of the National Information Center (CNI) bomb disposal squad.

July 1979 - (U) Exploded powerful bombs at the office of the Chilean Mortgage Bank and at a private residence, causing considerable damage and alarm.

November 1979 - (U) Killed a policeman in an unsuccessful bank truck robbery attempt.

Event Analysis:

(U) During 1979, the MIR allegedly carried out approximately 80 bombings of progovernment institutions and residences of progovernment individuals. One person is known to have been killed in these bombings which were primarily intended to destroy property. There are no detailed accounts of the bombings available.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ There were also two known package bomb attempts attributed to the MIR in November 1979. In both instances the targets were Chilean Army lieutenant colonels. The attempts were similar in that the bombs were disguised as gifts and were delivered to the officers' homes. In both cases, the bombs were detected by the recipients and were later deactivated by security personnel.

~~(C/NOFORN)~~ Between October 1979 and March 1980, there has been a plethora of alleged MIR-related armed robberies, ranging from supermarkets to banks. In one unsuccessful robbery attempt, six MIR members (five men and one woman) dressed in blue workers' uniforms and white construction helmets used pistols and submachineguns to attack the office of a construction materials business. They used a pickup truck, a subcompact car, and an ambulance in the assault. The robbery was a failure because the firm's payroll had not arrived.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In the mid-1970s, the M-19 reportedly established ties with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR). It also has ties with various Latin American terrorist groups, including the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), and several Venezuelan groups--Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), Red Flag (BR) (now called Americo Silva Front (FAS)), and Argimiro Gabaldon Revolutionary Command (CRAG), aka the Revolutionary Commando Group (GCR).

(U) The 21 March 1980 publication of a joint communique of the M-19, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Puerto Rico (FAL), and the Dominican 14 June Movement (M-14) was an indication of ties among these three terrorist organizations. The joint communique warned that the M-19, FAL, and M-14 would jointly undertake terrorist actions in the United States if any military force were used to free the hostages being held by M-19 members in the Dominican Embassy in Bogota.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The M-19 has provided some support to selected foreign groups. It reportedly provided some advice to the BR/CRAG members in the February 1976 kidnaping of US businessman William Niehous in Caracas. In May 1978, it attempted to kidnap the Nicaraguan Ambassador to Colombia out of solidarity with the FSLN. It may also have provided more direct support to the FSLN's "armed struggle" in Nicaragua. In September 1978, a group of 10 unidentified M-19 and ELN members reportedly departed for Nicaragua to fight with the FSLN. In addition, the M-19 has received technical and training support from exiled members of the Uruguayan Tupamaros and Argentine Montoneros in exchange for providing them with safehaven.

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(U) In August 1979, the security agency of Colombia's military intelligence (B-2) announced that the M-19 had close relations with the Bolivian National Liberation Army (ELN), two of whose leaders had allegedly served as advisers to the M-19 in 1978. The B-2 also said that the M-19 belonged to the JCR, and maintained close contacts with Argentine Montoneros and unidentified guerrilla groups in Guatemala and El Salvador.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Libyan training of some M-19 members has been mentioned.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FARC has maintained close contact with the Soviet Embassy in Bogota. However, the FARC contact with the Soviet Embassy, Farid Humar Gonzalez, was killed on 17 March 1979 in an Aeroflot plane crash in the Soviet Union. Alleged Soviet and Czech training were noted above.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FARC has also had confirmed ties with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR). According to a January 1977 report by a Brazilian security service, the FARC was described as belonging to the JCR as "a member without voting rights." Since mid-1977, [redacted] the FARC has held several meetings in Colombia with JCR representatives. In view of its JCR contacts, the FARC probably has ties with other Latin American guerrilla groups not mentioned here.

Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In early 1978, FARC urban leaders met with a representative of the JCR Directorate based in Mexico City to discuss weapons purchases. The JCR representative, who was also a member of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), stated that he could arrange for a FARC member to meet a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Havana during the 11th World Youth and Student Festival in

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mid-1978 to discuss weapons purchases. Although PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders attended the festival, it is not known if a FARC-PLO meeting took place.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Cuban and Soviet training, and reportedly Soviet funding, have been mentioned; FPL documents captured in 1978 confirm contacts in Cuba and the USSR.

(U) An FPL delegation attended the 11th World Youth and Student Festival held in Havana in July 1978.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FPL has had ties with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR).

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FPL has known ties with the Guatemalan EGP, dissident Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (D-PGT), and Rebel Armed Forces (FAR). EGP training of FPL members has been mentioned. D-PGT leader Jose Cardoza met with FPL leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio in Guatemala on 10 November 1978 to discuss mutual cooperation. At that time, the FPL leader also expressed interest in cooperating more closely with the FAR. However, the current status of FPL-FAR relations is not known.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FPL has known ties with the Nicaraguan FSLN. It provided arms, funds, and personnel support to the FSLN in its late 1978 and early 1979 guerrilla offensives.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FPL also had known contacts with the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

(U) In early December 1979, the FPL received a letter dated 5 December from the previously unknown South African Liberation Front (SALF). The SALF expressed its appreciation to the FPL for its kidnaping of South African Ambassador to El Salvador, Archibald Dunn, and declared its solidarity with the FPL's struggle. The SALF gave its return address as P.O. Box 5092, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

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January 1980 - (U) Machinegunned and killed Santa Ana's former police chief inside his home.

- (U) Attacked the main headquarters of the National Guard in San Salvador, wounding two soldiers and killing two civilians.

March 1980 - (U) Ambushed and killed three members of the National Police near the central marketplace of the city of Ilobasco, Cabanas Department.

- (U) Took credit for assassinating four policemen who were guarding the main entrance of the Foreign Ministry building, San Salvador.

- (U) Ambushed and killed a rancher and his 12-year-old son at the village of Tierra Blanca, Usulutan Department.

- (U) Machinegunned the headquarters of the US Peace Corps in San Salvador; no injuries.

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Tactics/Methods of Operation:

(U) The ERP has carried out fundraising kidnapings, ambushes of police and National Guardsmen, bomb attacks against government offices, businesses, police and National Guard garrisons, and takeovers of radio stations. It has also attacked embassies in San Salvador--that of Chile in 1974, and those of Argentina, Guatemala, and Nicaragua in 1978.

(U) The ERP has used the LP-28 to carry out a variety of militant activities. (See Event Analysis.)

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The ERP's closest transnational ties are with the Guatemalan EGP. It also has ties with the Nicaraguan FSLN. The ERP has some contact with Cuba. An ERP delegation attended the 11th World Youth and Student Festival held in Havana in July and August 1978. In 1977, the ERP reportedly had contacts with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) and the Chinese and Albanian Communist Parties.

(U) A communique issued by the ERP/PRS in September 1978 stated that the FSLN is the leader of the "armed struggle" in Central America.

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Event Analysis:

(U) One of the ERP's main terrorist tactics since 1974 has been bombings of government offices, headquarters of the National Conciliation Party (PCN), businesses, embassies (of Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Nicaragua), radio transmitters, power plants, police, and National Guard garrisons. Since early 1976, the ERP has carried out synchronized bombings in various cities--5 synchronized bombings in March 1976, 27 in August 1977, and 40 in November 1978. The ERP adopted a new bombing tactic in February 1979. Ten booby-trapped ERP bombs exploded in police and National Guard garrisons and a theater.

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(U) Another common ERP tactic during 1977 and 1978 was the coordinated takeover of radio stations throughout El Salvador for the purpose of propagandizing anti-Salvadoran Government and anti-US statements. For example, one day in October 1977, ERP terrorists occupied 8 stations, and one day in September 1978, 10 stations. Each of these seizures was carried out by at least one five-member ERP Squad. After the employees were tied up, the terrorists would broadcast prerecorded statements, usually for 20 to 30 minutes, before fleeing. When retreating, they sometimes planted time bombs at the entrance of the building to prevent interruption of the ERP transmission by arriving police. On 21 December 1978, two ERP Squads seized a building in San Salvador in which a television and radio station are located. After killing two persons, wounding three, and beating up several others, the terrorists broadcasted subversive film clips and recordings for 30 minutes.

(U) On 25 October 1979, after a 9-month lull, the ERP resumed this practice by seizing five radio stations in San Salvador and others in the interior to broadcast antigovernment messages. On 21 January 1980, in its boldest such operation to date, the ERP seized 21 radio stations throughout El Salvador. The ERP messages announced that a clandestine ERP radio station would begin operating on 22 January. They also called on all Salvadorans to unite and seize power by force.

(C) The ERP's popular front, LP-28, has been involved in numerous incidents of labor insurrection, university agitation, and street demonstrations, and has been linked to at least one fundraising kidnaping. On 13 July 1979, 30 LP-28 members assaulted the US Chancellery in San Salvador in a well-planned/-executed operation. On 31 October 1979, some 300 LP-28 militants attacked the US Embassy in San Salvador, some firing guns. The attack was repelled but two US Marines were slightly wounded.

(U) Since September 1979, the LP-28 has carried out at least six major hostage/barricade occupations. In late September 1979, 100 LP-28 members staged a prolonged occupation of the Labor Ministry building in an effort to force the government to reveal the whereabouts of three missing LP-28 leaders. On 11 January 1980, some 50 LP-28 militants seized the Panamanian Embassy in San Salvador and held the Panamanian and Costa Rican Ambassadors hostage for 3 days until seven LP-28 members were released from Usulutan Prison. On 13 February, some 50 LP-28 militants again seized the Panamanian Embassy and held the Panamanian Ambassador hostage for 48 hours until the Panamanian Government retaliated by arresting several LP-28 leaders in Panama.

(U) Other LP-28 actions included the late January 1980 seizure of the Christian Democratic Party headquarters in San Salvador, which ended with a police raid and five deaths; the 4 February seizure of the Spanish Embassy in San Salvador, which was resolved 2 weeks later after 13 imprisoned LP-28 members were released; and the 25 February seizure of the Central Market Administration office in San Salvador, which was also resolved peacefully.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The EGP maintains close contact with the America Department of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee (PCC/CC) and receives Cuban training and logistical support. EGP/Cuban contact has been conducted mainly through liaison between the EGP's Mexico City support group and the Cuban Embassy there.

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~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In late March 1980, unconfirmed reports by Guatemalan security services, including the National Police, indicated a Cuban advisory presence in Guatemala of 19 men, all of whom were working with the EGP to develop 19 "mobile guerrilla commands."

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In January 1979, two unidentified individuals described as "Cuban advisers to the EGP" visited Guatemala clandestinely. In two meetings held on 27 January 1979, the two Cubans offered Cuban training, funds, and weapons assistance as needed to the D-PGT and FAR (in addition to similar support already being provided to the EGP) if they would cooperate more closely with each other and with the EGP.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The EGP established ties to the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) in about 1976. The current status of the EGP's relationship with the JCR is not known.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Beginning in late 1977, the EGP leadership began to take an active role in promoting Cuba's policy of increased regional cooperation among radical revolutionary organizations in Central America. EGP/Cuban efforts were particularly effective in encouraging Salvadoran terrorist organizations to assist the Nicaraguan FSLN with financial and propaganda support and, when possible, with men and weapons. However, the EGP leadership was skeptical of the FSLN's chances of success. For that reason, the EGP did not provide any known direct materiel assistance to the FSLN's armed struggle during 1978 and 1979. It did, however, demonstrate its solidarity with the FSLN's September 1978 guerrilla offensive by assassinating the Nicaraguan Ambassador to Guatemala that month.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In addition to the FSLN, the EGP has known ties with the Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) and People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). FPL and ERP members have received training at EGP camps in Guatemala. Cuban officials used the occasion of the 11th World Youth and Student Festival held in Havana in July-August 1978 to promote the "regional integration" of the EGP, FSLN, and ERP. An EGP delegation attended that meeting. EGP leader "Cesar Montes" met with FPL leader Salvador Cayetano in Guatemala on 10 November 1978 to discuss mutual cooperation between the EGP and FPL.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Other known EGP contacts in Latin America are with the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Communist Party of Mexico (PCM), and the Panamanian People's (Communist) Party (PdP). EGP contacts in Europe include collaborators in France and Italy.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The EGP apparently has ties with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In August 1979, a PLO detachment reportedly was sent to Guatemala to collaborate with the EGP. Its mission was

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The FAR has maintained contact with Cuba, mostly through the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City. However, in January 1979, two Cuban advisers to the EGP made direct contact with FAR leaders in Guatemala. They offered Cuban weapons, training, and financial assistance if the FAR would cooperate more closely with the EGP and dissident PGT. (See EGP, International Connections.)

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Guatemala
FAR

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ In the mid-1970s, the FAR had ties with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR). The FAR had a close association with the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the early 1970s. Cuba channeled some funds through the FAR to the FSLN. Contact is most likely still maintained with the FSLN. In November 1978, the leader of the Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) expressed interest in cooperating more closely with the FAR. The current status of FAR-FPL relations is not known.

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Training:

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) Present FAS training is not known. In mid-1978, the BR reportedly was working closely with a number of exiled members of the Argentine People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and the Uruguayan National Liberation Movement (MLN)/Tupamaros. The ERP and MLN exiles reportedly were providing training and/or logistical assistance.

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International Connections:

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) In 1977 or early 1978, the BR apparently established ties with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR). The BR/JCR ties were suggested by reports which indicated that: BR representatives attended JCR meetings held in Madrid and Paris in early 1978; in 1978, the JCR helped the BR to publish an anti-Venezuelan Government monthly newspaper, Caribe (Caribbean); and the BR received training assistance from exiled members of two charter JCR groups--the ERP and MLN/Tupamaros.

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) The BR has also maintained contact with the Colombian 19th of April Movement (M-19).

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) Two reports indicate possible FAS/BR contacts with Palestinian terrorists. In late 1978, BR leader Puerta traveled to Spain to meet with representatives of unidentified Palestinian terrorist organizations and in early 1979, the BR was represented on the Venezuelan Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance (CVSRP), a pro-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) lobbying group.

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) As of 31 March 1980, the BR was planning to sponsor an international anti-imperialist meeting in Venezuela from 21 to 24 June 1980. Its main purpose is to show support for overthrowing the Revolutionary Junta Government (JRG) of El Salvador.

Background:

(U) In December 1969, Carlos Betancourt, then a terrorist leader of the Cuban-sponsored Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), formed the BR. He and his followers had broken away from the MIR because it renounced violence to become a legal political party.

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) In early 1976, Betancourt and two other top BR leaders were expelled from the BR for unauthorized participation in the kidnaping of US business executive William Niehous. They subsequently formed a separate guerrilla band, the "Antonio Jose de Sucre" Guerrilla Front (FGAJS), which later became the guerrilla/terrorist apparatus of the BR/Marxist-Leninist (BR/ML) [discussed separately]. By early 1978, Betancourt had left the BR/ML and rejoined the BR. Since then, the Americo Silva Front (FAS) has been the most active guerrilla front of the BR, and probably the most important component of the guerrilla movement in Venezuela. Betancourt, who was granted amnesty in May 1979 under the pacification program, announced in a mid-June press interview that he had decided to abandon revolutionary struggle (as a guerrilla) and concentrate instead on political activism.

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Training:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The present status of BR/ML training is not known, but BR/ML members have been well-trained in guerrilla/terrorist methods. In mid-1978, the BR/ML was maintaining a training camp for recruits south of Ciudad Guayana, Bolivar State. Reportedly, exiled members of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and the Argentine People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) were providing training instruction at the camp.

Finances:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The BR/ML's present financial status is not known. The BR/ML was poor in the past, but it has probably received funds from some armed robberies carried out since early 1978. It also extorts protection money from wealthy ranchers (the standard fee being US$35,000).

International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/WNINTEL)~~ In 1978, the BR/ML appeared to have a number of international connections. These included training ties with exiled members of two charter Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) groups--the ERP and the MIR, and contacts with the principal Colombian guerrilla organizations. BR/ML leader Pablo Hernandez traveled to Europe in late 1978 to establish contacts with unidentified European and Palestinian terrorist organizations. There is no information on the outcome of these contacts. Although the BR/ML's relationship with the JCR is not known, Pablo Hernandez probably has had at least some indirect contact with the JCR since 1976.

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International Connections:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As of early 1979, OR leader Julio Escalona was reportedly the principal connection between the Cuban Embassy in Caracas and Teodoro Petkoff, leader of the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS). The MAS is a political party which has clandestine ties with the Libyan Government.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ The OR has had contact with the FI and the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) through the LS. The LS was represented at JCR meetings held in Madrid and Paris in early 1978. In early 1979, the OR was represented on the Venezuelan Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance (CVSRP), a pro-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) lobbying group.

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Tactics/Methods of Operation:

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Since early 1976, the FALN has been pursuing political activism. For this reason, it has operated anonymously and has not claimed credit for any terrorist acts. However, it may have carried out terrorist acts in the name of ad hoc groups, such as the Clandestine Revolutionary Front (FCR). The FCR was responsible for several firebombings in Valencia, Carabobo State, a traditional FALN area of operation, in early 1979.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ Between 1971 and early 1976, the FALN engaged in joint fundraising kidnapings with either the Red Flag (BR), Organization of Revolutionaries (OR), or the Argimiro Gabaldon Revolutionary Command (CRAG), aka the Revolutionary Commando Group (GCR). The FALN is not known to have carried out any joint terrorist actions since early 1976, but its political fronts have cooperated with those of other Venezuelan terrorist groups.

(U) Douglas Bravo has been pursuing political activism mainly through the PRV, of which he is Secretary General. The PRV's membership is probably negligible. As of September 1979, the PRV was suffering from an internal split. At that time, at least 200 former PRV members reportedly formed a dissident group.

~~(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL)~~ As of 31 March 1980, the Venezuelan security services believed that Bravo's PRV was the most committed of Venezuela's subversive organizations to the strategy of hemisphere-wide guerrilla activity. This strategy, based on Ernesto "Che" Guevara's theory of continental guerrilla warfare, is one of the principal "strategic" goals of the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR).

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International Connections:

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) The FALN has had wide international contacts. It established contact with the JCR soon after the JCR's formation in 1974. FALN delegations are known to have attended the 11 December 1974 and 15 August 1975 JCR conferences. During 1977-79, the FALN actively sought Venezuelan support for the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). The FALN has also maintained ties with the Colombian 19th of April Movement (M-19).

(~~S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL~~) The FALN probably maintains contact with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representatives in Venezuela. In early 1979, the FALN was represented on the Venezuelan Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance (CVSRP), a pro-PLO lobbying group.

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International Connections:

(S/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/WNINTEL) A March 1976 report from a reliable source suggested possible Cuban ties, but this has not been substantiated. The founders of the CRAG had some contact with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR). However, the extent of the CRAG's JCR ties is not known. The Colombian 19th of April Movement (M-19) reportedly provided some advice to the Red Flag (BR) leaders who collaborated with the CRAG in the kidnaping of William Niehous.

Non Responsive

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E303	HQ USAF/INEG	1
E408	AFWL	1
E437	AFIS/INOI	1
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H007	SILK PURSE	1
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H306	DCSI US COM BERLIN	1
H320	66TH MI GP	6
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H506	COMIDEASTFOR	1
H511	COMSIXTHFLT	1
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J007	COMUSFORAZ	1
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J037	COMMATWING ONE	1
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J525	COMNAVFORCARIB	1
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K514	COMTHIRDFLT	1
K515	COMSEVENTHFLT	1
K516	FIRST MAF	1
K525	COMNAVAIRPAC	1
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		1
		1
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L106	7 BMW/IN	1
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L120	91 SMW/D022I	1
L121	92 BMW/IN	1
L122	93 BMW/IN	1
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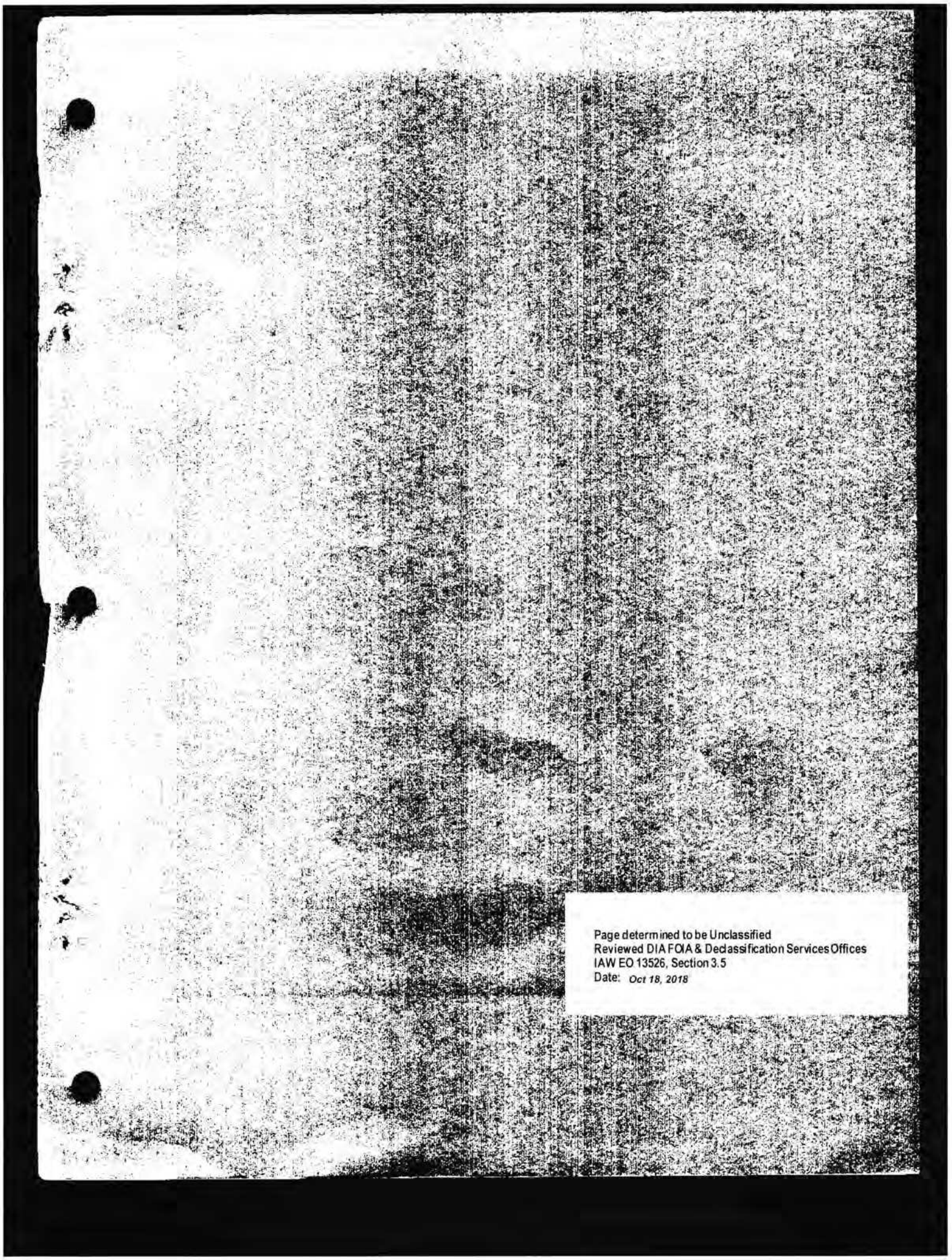

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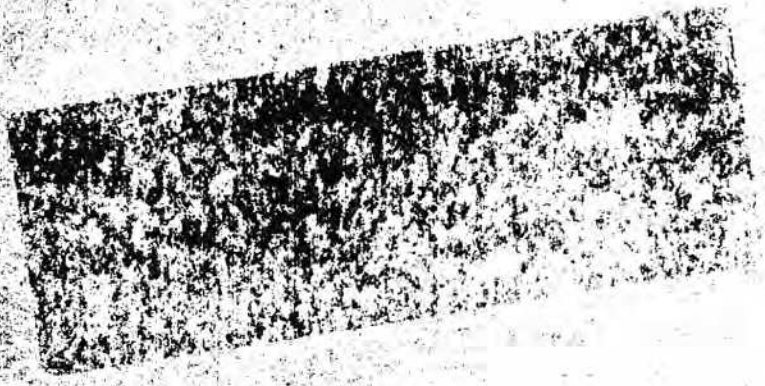

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